Evangelical and Aboriginal Christianity on Baffin Island:
A Case Study of Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik), 1929-1934

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Thesis submitted in completion
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy
in Polar Studies

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University of Cambridge

June 2006

Preface

I hereby declare that my dissertation, entitled Evangelical and Aboriginal Christianity on Baffin Island: A Case Study of Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik), 1929-1934, is not the same as any I have submitted for any other degree, diploma, or similar qualification at any university or similar institution. I also declare that no part of my dissertation has already been or is concurrently being submitted for any such degree, diploma, or similar qualification.

I declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

Finally, I declare that this dissertation does not exceed the 20,000 words, excluding footnotes, appendices, and references, that has been approved by the Board of Graduate Studies for the MPhil in Polar Studies.

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Christina M. Sawchuk

Acknowledgements

No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.
(John Donne)

The process of researching and writing a dissertation is akin to being stranded on a desert isle, in that very few others can truly understand the parameters of the intellectual, physical, and mental ordeal. I wish to thank the people who have provided bridges to the mainland, as it were, in all these matters.

I am incalculably indebted to my supervisor, Michael Bravo, for his challenging and sympathetic supervision this year, and for reading my last-minute draft with assiduity and levity. Ian MacLaren, my undergraduate supervisor, rekindled my long-dormant interest in the Canadian North and directed my attention to the Scott Polar Research Institute. Bob Cole has been an unofficial mentor in matters of graduate education as well as an unexpected friend. Lynn Kiddoo, Bob Cole, and Liz Cassell have all read drafts of this dissertation, and their comments have been much appreciated.

My research would have been much the poorer without the assistance of the Institute's library staff, who have been invariably willing to lay their time, resources and knowledge at my disposal. In particular I would like to thank Mark Gilbert, Shirley Sawtell, and Heather Lane for being lovely people as well as efficient librarians. Naomi Boneham has also been of great assistance. The staff at the Ipswich Record Office very kindly helped me navigate the Turner collection.

My time at the Institute has been immeasurably enriched by the company of my fellow MPhil students, Liz Cassell and Ian Bartholomew, and by the Friday afternoon musical outlets provided by Toby Benham and Isabella Warren. These times of fellowship have lightened my spirit when work was bearing down insistently.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents and my sister Elizabeth, for providing endless wells of love, support, and inspiration throughout my first year away from home, and Ben Adcock, for being there morning, noon, and night, and for making Cambridge into my new home.

Table of Contents

Introduction

> In September of 1929 the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS) missionaries, Harold Duncan and John "Jack" Turner, made their way North on the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) ship The Nascopie to establish a new mission near the company post at Pond Inlet. To their surprise, two Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) missionaries, Fathers Étienne Bazin and Prime Girard, were also en route to the same destination. The shock was mutual. Further surprises were also to follow. … [M]ost of Inuit [sic] had already been baptized Anglicans. This was evidently not the pioneering adventure that all parties had anticipated. How had this state of affairs come to be?[1]

As the Nascopie came into the bay, Turner and Duncan would have sighted the rocky beach upon which they would build their new mission. The shore would have been thickly crowded with Inuit eager to glimpse the "teachers"[2] they had requested the previous year. Before long the physical gap would close as the ship anchored near shore, yet the cultural gap between the missionaries and Inuit would take much more effort to bridge. Speaking of this chasm, Donald Larson writes, "It is one thing for missionaries to cross the world and quite another for them to slip through the symbol-strewn mine field that separates them from their hosts."[3] This dissertation is interested primarily in defining the parameters of that physical and cultural gap between the Anglican missionaries and the Tununermiut, the traditional residents of that area, in their first five years at Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik).[4] In framing this discussion not only in terms in history and society, but those of space as well, this dissertation reflects the growing awareness among social scientists of the "simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social, the historical, and the spatial, their inseparability and interdependence."[5]

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[1] Christopher Trott, "Mission and Opposition in North Baffin Island," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 40 (1998): 31.

[2] "Teachers" were the name that Inuit gave to missionaries. See Archibald Fleming, Archibald the Arctic (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), 216 for an example of this usage. It is not clear whether Harold Duncan knew of the Inuit meaning of this term. Evidence suggests that he thought that the Tununermiut actually wanted missionaries with educational training. See Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, 25 April 1989, tape 2.

[3] Donald N. Larson, "Closing Space: De-alienation in Missionary Orientation," Missiology 20 (1992): 514.

[4] I will use the settlement's Inuit name for the remainder of this dissertation, in line with Shelagh Grant's recent observation that "symbolic of growing respect for their heritage, the community is gradually reverting back to the use of the original Inuktitut name – Mittimatalik." Shelagh D. Grant, Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 255.

[5] Edward W. Soja, Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 3.

The central conundrum of the Mittimatalik mission is not, as Christopher Trott implies above, why the missionaries were unaware of the people's prior conversion, but why two parties with equally vibrant Christian faith could not coexist harmoniously. While both the missionaries and the Inuit were devoutly Christian at the time of their meeting, their Christianities were each based on disparate cultural worldviews that in many respects were mutually unintelligible. Harold Duncan and John Turner were evangelical Anglicans who believed in the inevitability of the world's Christianization and the rapid approach of the Second Coming of Christ, and as such believed that their mission in Mittimatalik had the guarantee of preordained success. The Tununermiut, however, had developed a Christianity based on their traditional belief system and promulgated by shamans and catechists, and which had equally strong roots. Although their motives for requesting a missionary in 1928 remain unclear, this dissertation posits that events in the 1920s created the need for a greater Inuit knowledge of Euro-Canadian[6] secular and sacred rules than the Inuit could attain themselves, and so they requested outside interpretive assistance.

It is fair to say that not only the missionaries, but also the Inuit were surprised to discover Christians so different from themselves. Each kind of Christianity was so bound up in cultural norms that reconciliation soon proved fruitless, and so each group secured a space where their knowledge was inviolate. While the Anglican missionaries were able to maintain control over the Christianity promulgated within the mission house, the Inuit abandoned their desire to learn the rules of English Christianity, and maintained their own practices in camps on the land. Anglican missionizing at Mittimatalik, therefore, had to cross the physical and cultural barriers separating the two groups in order to attain any evangelical success. While John Turner was able to do so in time by acquiring competency in travelling on the land, Harold Duncan was neither physically nor mentally equal to the task. The contrast between the two missionaries' methods was belied by their united and continuing belief in their own culture's superiority, however. The Inuit fidelity to their own practices was just as strong, and Tununermiut continued to shape and define their Christianity independently throughout the twentieth century. That they could do so

[6] By using this term to describe the non-Inuit actors that will be discussed, I follow John Matthiasson's reasoning in that "in the contact-traditional period the major exemplars of non-Inuit behaviour, values, and institutions to the Inuit were not Canadians but HBC employees recruited in Scotland, Anglican missionaries from England, and Roman Catholic priests from Belgium and France. … I think these facts are important in understanding the socio-psychological dynamics of Tununermiut acculturation. The European influence has always been as potent as the Canadian." John S. Matthiasson, Living on the Land: Northern Baffin Inuit Respond to Change (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1992), 26.

freely, unlike other Canadian aboriginals, lay in their continued access to a space in which Euro-Canadian ideas had little agency.

Before beginning to retrace the histories and cultures of the people involved in this study, I wish to situate myself in relation to Christopher Trott, the other scholar to have worked extensively on Mittimatalik religious history. Trott's disciplinary background may account for the differences between our perspectives: he is an anthropologist, while I am a historian of missions. Hence, I will briefly discuss twentieth-century missions historiography to situate my study's context before I outline three objections I have with Trott's methodology and propose some solutions.

I. Twentieth-century missions historiography: an overview

From approximately 1800 to 1950, literature about missions and missionaries was composed by adherents to the former and admirers of the latter. Invariably written in a hagiographical tone, these pamphlets, monographs, and biographies would extol the virtues of an individual or a mission station and detail conversion among the "heathen" in faraway places to an eager European or North American readership. This literature, "fundamentally and frankly propagandist in nature," was designed to inspire public support, to ensure continued donations from individuals, institutions, and governments, to cultivate a community who would champion missionary interests against mercantile, industrial, or territorial ones, and to encourage potential recruits.[7]

By the mid-twentieth century, a combination of the waning Western interest in missionary work and the waxing power of African and Asian syncretic Christian movements had staunched the flow of missionary publications. By 1969, "missionaries were indeed invisible; they had disappeared from the radar of popular culture or academic history. Worse, they had become a historical embarrassment."[8] In the decolonization era, mission history—synonymous with that of colonial conquest—ceded its primacy to localized anthropological studies of Asian, African, and Latin American peoples.[9]

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[7] Anna Johnston, Missionary Writings and Empire, 1800-1860 (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 6-7.
[8] Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, introduction to Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad, eds. Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 5.
[9] Kevin Ward, "'Taking Stock': The Church Missionary Society and Its Historians," in The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999, eds. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 15.

Not until the 1980s did an academic interest in missions resurface. In Canada, this interest was piqued by John Webster Grant's Moon of Wintertime (1984), a landmark study of Canadian-Native religious relations. Grant's colleagues adopted his conclusions about Christianity's political and economic appeal to Native converts. Missions were readily analyzed as "relations of social classes, as relations between women and men, as encounters between cultures, as immigration, [and] as modes of conflict."[10] Missions, particularly Canadian-based ones to foreign countries, were also used to speculate on nascent forms of Canadian nationalism in the early twentieth century, as in the collection of studies named Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions (1988).

However, Grant's suggested spiritual motives for conversion—"the basic premise that Christian missionaries and the natives they sought to convert were all sincerely moved by a wish to live in harmony with and to draw strength from what Grant terms the 'source of spiritual power'"[11]—were ignored in subsequent studies. Social scientists persisted in demonizing missionaries for "needlessly meddling in native culture and (not altogether compatibly) for inadequately preparing the native for the new secular order."[12] This viewpoint assumed that Natives had invariably suffered from Christianizing efforts, and so non-Euro-Canadian perspectives on mission were also absent from the literature.[13] Finally, until the early 1990s, most accounts of missionaries and their activities were narrative rather than analytic.[14]

In the last fifteen years, the infusion of new methods from the social sciences—such as historical anthropology, discourse analysis, post-colonial literature, and gender and cultural studies—have reinvigorated the field. The most important development has been the much-needed introduction of the Native voice, which facilitates a historical dialogue that is "not necessarily a mutually beneficial conversation between Native and missionary, but [a] dialogic encounter nonetheless."[15] John and Jean Comaroff, whose seminal two-volume monograph Of Revelation and Revolution (1990) details the conversion of southern Africa's Tswana people, consider the situation of local tribes,

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[10] C.T. McIntire, "Approaches and Themes in the History of Missions," in Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 13.
[11] Philip Goldring, "Religion, Missions, and Native Culture," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 26 (1984): 46.
[12] Ibid., 47.
[13] "It must be admitted from the outset that all the essays focus on the missionaries and their senders, and none examine the reception of the missionary of the impact of the missionary on the peoples missionized." McIntire, "Approaches," 12.
[14] Johnston, Writings, 22.
[15] Austin and Scott, introduction to Canadian Missionaries, 7.

British administrators and soldiers, and London Missionary Society agents. In so doing, they provide a multifaceted narrative of conversion. Conflicting accounts of the same experience have devalued the primacy of any one perspective in recounting missionary experiences.

When considering Tununermiut conversion in his article "Mission and Opposition in North Baffin Island" (2002), Christopher Trott seems to favour the 1980s scholarly attitude towards missions in his disavowal of Native voice, elevation of description over critical analysis, and disparagement of religious factors. My three responses, which mirror contemporary critical thinking, are the destabilization of both "white" and "native" knowledge and adoption of situated knowledge, the use of postcolonial[16] analytical techniques, and the introduction of a sacred perspective into academic analysis.

II. Methodologies: situated knowledge

Trott quickly makes it clear that he "does not attempt to articulate the 'Inuit voice' in the discussion."[17] This decision remains justifiable even within today's postcolonial academic climate, especially given the continuing debate over the benefits and disadvantages of combining oral Aboriginal knowledge with textual European records to produce a more accurate rendition of history than previously possible. Yet historical accuracy is illusory no matter which authority one privileges: "Accuracy in history is a *genre*. Empiricism is a mode of ordering past experience according to certain rhetorical and disciplinary conventions. The quest for the 'real' past is as utopian as Alice's quest for the White Rabbit. History is always late."[18] Viewed in this light, both oral and textual sources have their limits. Since both kinds of material will underwrite the following analysis, their utility must therefore be considered.

Scholars have recently deconstructed the previously stable authority upon which post-Enlightenment Western knowledge was based. Although the principles of universal reason and empirical knowledge have traditionally been attributed to a "disembodied, disinterested Cartesian observer," Nancy Duncan argues that this pose masks the real

[16] When I speak of "colonialism" in the following discussion, I refer both to the intellectual and textual project of creating a colony through various discourses, as well as the concrete project of administering a foreign territory politically, economically, and culturally. "Postcolonialism," then, is a recuperative process that studies how these projects were designed, implemented, and contested.
[17] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 31.
[18] Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context (New York: Routledge, 1994), 310.

person whose interests it represents: namely, the white, bourgeois, able-bodied, and heterosexual male.[19] In defiance of this norm, feminists have recast knowledge as "embodied, engendered and embedded in the material context of place and space."[20]

This debate impinges directly upon this dissertation, in that all the observers of Mittimatalik's Anglican mission—Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, Hudson's Bay Company traders, government administrators, the Catholic Oblate priests, and the Anglican missionaries themselves—embody this contested type. Relying solely on their testimonies would create several problems. To begin, as Barbara Kelcey notes, "indigenous people … have not surfaced in these records because they are rarely mentioned among the game tallies, fur statistics, and heroic actions recorded by these men."[21] Hence, the crucial historical dialogue disappears. If one utilizes missionary records, which often contain more socio-cultural observations than other accounts, one also encounters assumptions of cultural superiority and the rhetoric of evangelical zeal. In connection with the latter, these accounts record otherwise undocumented and perhaps overly optimistic success at missionizing.[22] Ergo one cannot rely solely upon European documentation to assess the missionary enterprise.

Yet oral history, although it alleviates some concerns associated with textual hegemony, raises different issues. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's original desire to "retrieve a subaltern history … of the excluded, the voiceless, of those who were previously at best only the object of colonial knowledge and fantasy" has been tempered.[23] Oral history's greatest contribution has been to clarify the subaltern's perceptions and to identify other reasons for friction in colonial settings. But it does not correspond neatly with the textual paradigm. It is "less a technique for increased historical

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[19] Nancy Duncan, "Introduction—(Re)placings," in BodySpace: Destabilizing Boundaries of Gender and Sexuality, ed. Nancy Duncan (New York: Routledge, 1996), 2. Cartesianism is perhaps fallaciously included in the earlier list of adjectives. As Andrea Christofidou notes, "For the greater part of this century, philosophy has relegated Descartes to the rôle of anti-hero, with philosophers defining their positions against 'what are seen as deeply flawed Cartesian paradigms.'" Andrea Christofidou, "Descartes' Dualism: Correcting Some Misconceptions," Journal of the History of Philosophy 39 (2001): 215. On the contrary, Descartes' position on the body and the Enlightenment discussions inspired by his thoughts are both far more complex than Duncan, and many postmodern scholars, indicate, and far too complex to discuss here. I acknowledge the complexity of this discourse while agreeing with Duncan's call to reexamine the biases that "objective" sources of knowledge seek to conceal.

[20] Duncan, "Introduction—(Re)placings," in BodySpace, 1.

[21] Barbara E. Kelcey, Alone in Silence: European Women in the Canadian North before 1940 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 5.

[22] Winona Stevenson, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), 310.

[23] Robert J.C. Young, Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (London: Routledge, 1995), 162.

accuracy than it is a new, contested technology for historical power,"[24] less a discrete tool than an entire teleology. Moreover, as with textual records, oral history contains selection, bias, evasion, and interpretation, and must be interpreted accordingly.

An important and unresolved debate concerning subaltern history centres around whether or not Western scholars may legitimately use oral history to speak for the Other. The clash between Marshall Sahlins and Gananeth Obeyesekere concerning their differing interpretations of what Captain James Cook's death *meant* to the Hawaiians opened up new avenues for scholarly investigation into the legitimacy and control of oral resources. While Obeyesekere warned against an uncritical reading of European sources that might reproduce the colonialist project in twentieth-century anthropological studies, Sahlins answered, "You can't say that every time a Hawaiian opens his mouth and says something that it's the European who wrote it who said it. In that sense it's just as imperialist as anything else."[25] Ultimately scholars must settle this issue with their own consciences. I second Brett Christophers' assessment:

> Some critics would argue that speculation about motive violates Native histories and knowledges, and that such epistemological violence sustains cultural domination. These are serious concerns. I write as a European and the records I use are those of the colonial project. Yet I think it important to consider Nlha7kápmx purpose, for the other option—limiting reconstruction of [missionary John Booth] Good's call to his objectives and those of other whites—strikes me as more dangerous. If we rewrite colonialism purely through critical readings of European power, we risk reproducing a central fallacy of empire: the notion that Europe produced history and Natives submitted to it.[26]

Neither textual nor oral resources are faultless, but some scholars have converted their weaknesses into strengths in proposing a "situated knowledge" research model that would replace so-called "objective," or decontextualized, disembodied, and ungendered knowledge.[27] To utilize situated knowledge, a researcher must recognize not only the

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[24] McClintock, Leather, 310.
[25] Andrew Campbell, "Cook's Tour Revisited," University of Chicago Magazine, April 1995. 6 June 2006. <http://magazine.uchicago.edu/9504/April95Investig.html>.
[26] Brett Christophers, Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 9.
[27] My aim is not to represent "situated knowledge" as a homogenous or unproblematic term. The definition given here aligns with the work of Donna Haraway, who has attempted to problematize the notion of objectivity by focusing on the disjunctures, elisions, and cracks in dialogues of the "natural" and "real." She writes that "it is the empty space, the undecidability, the wiliness of other actors, the 'negativity,' that give me confidence in the reality and therefore ultimate unrepresentability of social nature and that make me suspect doctrines of representation and objectivity." Donna Haraway, "The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others," in Cultural Studies, eds. Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 313. By contrast, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger have focused on the positive and

cultural, geographical, and historical specificity of the production of knowledge claims in a certain situation, but also her personal biases in interpreting the material.[28] Some of the foregoing problems are thusly solved by this approach. Knowledge is based in the specific, not the universal, and the researcher acknowledges that while she will adhere to rigorous research standards, she will, of necessity, speak subjectively.

This highly qualified paradigm is appropriate to mission studies for several reasons. Nicholas Thomas has emphasized the need to localize colonialism to avoid falsely conflating different colonial projects and actors.[29] Meanwhile, Kenneth Coates and William Morrison argue that individual and collective reactions to missionaries varied depending on local conditions and circumstances and the missionary's personality and attitude.[30] As such, chapters one and two of this dissertation will situate, respectively, the Anglican missionaries and the Inuit of Mittimatalik in their historical, social, and cultural milieus, in order to comprehend why they responded as they did to each other's representations of Christianity. The latter chapter will also describe the events leading up to the missionaries' arrival.

III. Methodologies: postcolonial discourse analysis

Describing a syncretic Christian movement, Trott concludes, "[A] number of external actions or features from whaler, trader and mission activity have been appropriated wholesale into an Inuit context. Without careful exposition it is impossible to say what *meanings* might also have been attributed to these actions."[31] Here Trott demonstrates both sympathy with the descriptive tendency of 1980s mission studies and concern about

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constitutive power of "situated knowledge" in emphasizing that people acquire particular skills through engagement in a situated "community of practice." Thus "it makes no sense to talk of knowledge that is decontextualized, abstract or general," since the acquisition of knowledge *by definition* is tempered by local circumstances and interactions. Mark K. Smith, "Communities of practice," the encyclopedia of informal education, 6 June 2006, <http://www.infed.org/biblio/communities_of_practice.htm>. Haraway's analytic model of "situated knowledge" corresponds more closely to the needs of this study than does Lave and Wenger's participatory model.

[28] Duncan, "Introduction—(Re)placings," in BodySpace, 3-4. Given this comment, and given this dissertation's topic, I feel I should clarify my own religious position. I am an Eastern Orthodox Christian by birth, and have only recently begun to feel comfortable with "Western," i.e. Roman Catholic or Protestant, Christian services. My religious affiliation places me well outside this dissertation's dialogue between Inuit Christianity and evangelical Anglicanism. Yet I feel it important to note that I am a practicing Christian, although ultimately the discussion may either make it plain or render it irrelevant.

[29] Elizabeth Buettner, Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 21.

[30] Kenneth Coates and William Morrison, introduction to An Apostle of the North, xxxiv.

[31] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 36.

trespassing on the Other's cultural territory. However, postcolonial studies, especially using the method known as discourse analysis, can often provide additional insight into cross-cultural interaction. While this practice originated in the methods of classical rhetoric, it has been adapted variously by literary critics, philosophers of language, and functional linguists since the nineteenth century. Discourse analysis, by noting the frequent appearance of words and objects and revealing their cultural significance, can explicate tensions that arise from seemingly innocuous European or indigenous behaviours. While Trott's scholarly reticence is admirable in one sense, it contributes little to a complex understanding of missionary activity. Some interpretative risks must be taken.

Since this dissertation makes use of missionary diaries and letters, discourse analysis has been particularly relevant. As with colonial activity, missionary work had specific purposes. In seeking meaning in the terms and phrases that Duncan and Turner used, this type of analysis reveals the latent patterns and influences that informed their activities and shaped their approaches. Without identifying these deeper concatenations, the scholar risks unwittingly reproducing such forms in her own writing.

One salient criticism of postcolonial discourse analysis in its original form, espoused especially by Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, is that it emphasizes the ideological at the expense of the material. While discourse analysis treats colonialism's fantasies, desires, and ambivalences, it fails to engage with the "actual conditions that such discourse was framed to describe, analyze or control."[32] Accordingly it may be less useful for historians, and anthropologists, than for literary critics. To counter this absence, Anne McClintock suggests "interrogating the messy imprecisions of history [and] the embattled negotiations and strategies of the disempowered."[33] Chapter three of this dissertation analyzes the clash of histories, cultures, and spatialities in Mittimatalik from 1929-34. The inclusion of space as a variable, alongside forms of power and knowledge, further complicates and enriches the discussion. By investigating the relationships at work in three settings—the Anglican mission house, the settlement itself, and the land—the following analysis, by its situatedness in physical space as well as time and culture, will avoid one disadvantage of discourse analysis.

[32] Young, Desire, 160.
[33] McClintock, Leather, 67.

IV. Methodologies: resacralization of mission studies

Trott concludes his article by declaring that "as tempting as it may be to look for order and pattern in the mission process, the account here shows too often the arbitrariness of events—or, the Divine Hand of God—depending on your perspective."[34] His rhetoric is reminiscent of that used by missionaries who, not able to perceive a structure to indigenous religious systems, declared there to be none. In fact, the Anglican missions on Baffin Island followed remarkably similar patterns of development because of their common approaches, beliefs, and goals as purveyors of evangelical Christianity. Furthermore, Trott's reference to the Christian belief system is overly casual, even flippant. His comment did not stem from a pedestrian scholarly need to disavow the potency of divine foreordination in order to situate one's assertions within an empirical narrative. Brett Christophers nicely draws the distinction when speaking of his missionary subject's beliefs: "I do not mean to suggest that the story of providence was a 'flawed' reading of what happened (which is to confuse theology and secular history)."[35] Trott's comment reflects a certain uneasiness with Christianity that remains potent in missions scholarship, and that is countered by downplaying or ignoring missionaries' religious or theological motives.

Scholars who disapprove of this secularizing tendency have suggested several reasons for its existence. Culturally Christian, non-Christian, or agnostic or atheist scholars may find the strength of a missionary's faith disarming or repelling. Primary sources, so necessary for the comprehension of historical events, may contain "continual praising of God or his omnipresence."[36] Even if scholars can stomach the material, "readers who do not themselves possess a strong religious commitment," Brian Stanley cautions, "are likely to find alien and unattractive the confidence in their own rectitude displayed by most of the missionaries."[37] Additional motives include a general religious illiteracy, so that even scholars who believe religion important do not possess the training to analyze its implications, and the general postmodern and secular Western belief that religion has become irrelevant.[38]

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[34] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 48.
[35] Christophers, Positioning, 5.
[36] Kelcey, Alone, 123-24.
[37] Brian Stanley, introduction to The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).
[38] Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 24.

Arguments can be raised to all these objections. Although scholars may find missionary zeal discomfiting, they should not automatically render missionary motives of no consequence. "Historians," Andrew Porter contends, "should perhaps be prepared to take not only theology but a good many other things as seriously as did most missionaries of the day."[39] Furthermore, since missionaries, especially evangelical missionaries, applied their theology to everyday matters, a poor acquaintance with religious matters will seriously affect the quality of scholarly analysis. The dynamics, timing, direction, and form of missionary initiatives throughout history were often influenced by then-current theological debates.[40]

The myth of irrelevancy is perhaps the least forgivable, considering that approximately 90% of Canadian aboriginals are at least nominally Christian.[41] Evangelism in these regions was astoundingly successful, if not always for the reasons missionaries believed. To excise religion from northern history is to truncate the experiences of today's Natives and their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, all of whom lived and struggled with Christian belief to uplifting or agonizing effect. Such an action superimposes a secular paradigm on their religious past.

The North is not the only target of this religious eclipse. Many Westerners believe in the post-Enlightenment triumph of scientific rationality that ensures the decline of Christianity. Concomitantly, they cannot comprehend the twentieth-century religious movements that have arisen worldwide, but especially in Asia, Africa, and the American heartland. A common response suggests that the inequality of religious feeling will be corrected naturally in time: "It is well known that modernity happens first in Europe, and later outside of Europe, where modernization will eventually kill off religion just as it has in the West."[42] While specific objections to this argument are extraneous to this discussion, nevertheless it is clear that religion matters greatly to many people. The West may even be "on the verge of a major epistemic shift in which post-Enlightenment assumptions about the dominance of the secular is under a considerable challenge."[43] Until the intellectual climate changes significantly, however, scholars of religious

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[39] Andrew Porter, Religion versus empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 11.
[40] Ibid., 12.
[41] For example, the 2001 census demonstrates that Nunavut is approximately 90% Christian. However, without data that separates Native from non-Native in these numbers, it is hard to determine the exact reach of Christianity in Inuit society. 6 June 2006. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/>.
[42] Jeffrey Cox, "Master Narratives of Imperial Missions," in Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions, eds. Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (New York: Basingstoke, 2005), 4.
[43] Jamie S. Scott, preface to Mixed Messages, xi.

subjects must ensure that they embrace theological issues with assiduity. Although this dissertation strives to attain this ideal throughout, it is brought forth specifically in the fourth chapter, in which is discussed the effects of the five years of initial missionizing on John Turner, Harold Duncan and the people of Mittimatalik.

Chapter One: Anglican Evangelicalism

> And now regarding the two men, Jack Turner and Harold Duncan, I do want to express my very sincere appreciation … . I think they are both capital fellows, and will do first-class work. Both have had a real spiritual experience, are keen on the things that matter, and have very pleasant personalities. … [T]he more I saw of them, the better I liked them.[1]

So spoke Archibald Fleming, Archdeacon and later Bishop of the Arctic, in 1929 about Mittimatalik's first Anglican missionaries, whom he considered well qualified for Arctic evangelism. Yet his criteria are opaque to the twenty-first-century reader. What counts as a "real spiritual experience"? What are the "things that matter"? Unless one is content to take Fleming's assessment for granted, a larger purview must be sought.

This chapter will commence with an examination of the Protestant missionary impulse from the eighteenth century onward. Discussion will focus particularly on the spatial and temporal beliefs of this movement. Although the spatial and temporal authority of Christianity, as originally posited by missionary discourse, faded over the centuries, the increasing control over individual bodies that new doctrines promised piqued many people's faith. The nineteenth century's evangelical revival promised a renewed expansion of Christianity into public space at the same time that it guaranteed salvation for the individual through frequent and lengthy prayer and Bible study. The impact of these historical, cultural, and spatial factors upon John Turner and Harold Duncan will surface throughout the analysis of their lives and theologies that rounds out the chapter.

I. The Protestant missionary movement

Mission's theological roots lay in Christ's command to "go forth and make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:19). In the eighteenth century, this ideal of Christian power over the known world gained widespread support. A then-current definition of missionizing outlines three necessities—the conversion of the nations, the planting of churches, and the glorification and manifestation of divine grace[2]—but provides no implementation

[1] Archibald Fleming, "The Arctic," The Missionary Messenger 7 (1929): 115.
[2] Jan A.B. Jongeneel, Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Missiological Encyclopedia, Part 1: The Philosophy and Science of Mission (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1995), 83.

guidelines. Accordingly, early mission societies such as the Society for the Preservation of the Gospel (SPG; founded 1701) relied on available means to disseminate their men and messages. Success often entailed close relationships with colonial government officials or seafaring merchants. The missionary project therefore risked being equated to that of colonialism. Despite some scholars' automatic association of the two, Andrew Porter's study Religion versus Empire? (2004) demonstrates that the relationship was mainly one of expedience rather than choice. Not until the late eighteenth century, when the major British mission societies—the Moravians in association with the SPG (1732), the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Society (1796), and the Church Missionary Society (1799)—were formed, could missions build an independent infrastructure on which to base their endeavours. By the mid-nineteenth century, there was little official correlation between government and mission activities in colonial regions.[3]

Even before these societies' formation, there was considerable national enthusiasm for missionizing. Many people possessed the providential belief that God himself had ordained English imperial expansion. Any failure to convey English civilization, including Christianity, to unenlightened foreigners would have contradicted God's will. The evangelical awakening of the 1740s and 1750s further developed this general acceptance of Christian spatial domination. This movement rejected prior notions of predestination and embraced justification by faith. For the first time, individuals could act to determine their destiny: pious Christian behaviour and the submission of one's life to Christ would ensure eternal reward.[4] Evangelical Christianity offered salvation both through divine inhabitation of the body and the individual's choice to accept a life in Christ. By immersing the world and the body in Christian doctrine, the evangelical movement created a new perception of space. Moreover, the new emphasis on individual action assisted mission societies' development. The faithful felt a duty to enlighten non-Christians and provided the necessary money and manpower.

Evangelical Christians also conceived of time differently in professing millennialism, or a belief in the imminence of Christ's Second Coming. Debate raged over its nature and timing, but "differences of interpretation notwithstanding, Christians of all denominations held that its occurrence was both certain and likely to take place

[3] Porter, Religion versus empire?, 162.
[4] Ibid., 32.

soon."[5] As with space, Christians placed time under providential control, and its foreshortening created urgency. Since Protestant belief held both that baptism was necessary for salvation and that a sincere conversion had to occur prior to baptism, missionaries could not delay in reaching non-Christians.

In contrast to the hegemonic power that Christianity espoused, the missionary's principal traits were powerlessness and adaptability. The missionary was to "commend, explain and illustrate the Christian message without the power to coerce acceptance of it" and to "adapt [himself] to the modes of life of another people."[6] Their power lay in their "unusually strong wills and faith" and their "determination, discipline and intelligence to impose both their will and faith upon [other] peoples."[7] Faith in a Christian ordering of the world drove these men to reveal this ultimate design to others.

After 150 years of general approbation for missionary work, enthusiasm waned, as did Christianity's societal power. The English-speaking world's churches had lost their authority to determine truth and morality. The Word of God was no longer automatically infallible, in that scientific and technological innovation had challenged Christian claims to knowledge. Mass spiritual doubt ensued.[8] The churches responded, at first, by modifying their message's emphasis and aligning themselves with contemporary secular and liberal thinking to reattract parishioners. Instead of stressing the sacrificial and redemptive nature of Christ's death, the implications of which necessitated repentance from sin and immediate conversion, the churches stressed Christ's moral teachings. In this way, they hoped to recover the moral high ground, if not their monopoly on truth. Moreover, the importance of prayer as a live connection to God was replaced with paeans to prayer's "psychological benefits."[9] These concessions gained the churches little. By the early 1930s Canadian clergymen needed nothing short of an evangelical revival to resuscitate their dying creed.[10]

The decay of religious feeling in Canada had particular import for Canadian mission work, especially in the North. Interest in that region had waned after the gold

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[5] Ibid., 34.
[6] Andrew F. Walls, The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith (New York: Orbis, 2002), 199.
[7] Terrence L. Craig, The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 25.
[8] David B. Marshall, Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 250.
[9] S.D. Chown, Some Causes of the Decline of the Earlier Typical Evangelism (Toronto: Ryerson, 1930), 5-6.
[10] Ibid., 205.

rush's decline. The further entrenchment of white settlers in the Northwest had also decreased interest in Native evangelization.[11] By 1902, the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church (MSCC) sent missionaries to the Northwest mainly to ensure the 'Canadianization' of new immigrants. Yet by 1909, the influential Laymen's Missionary Movement was pressuring the Anglican General Synod to concentrate on foreign missions in China, Japan and northern India, all of which were operational by 1915.[12] In a peculiar twist of fate, the CMS had transferred responsibility for Canadian missions to the MSCC during 1910-20. The Canadian church then neglected domestic missions such that another British missionary society—the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, which had seceded from the CMS in 1922—was invited in 1923 to undertake Arctic mission work.[13] The Canadian church had wearied of increasing secularization at home and had instead sought new hope for Christianity in foreign nations.

II. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century evangelicalism

In contradistinction to this Anglo-Saxon dearth of religious feeling, the Evangelical Awakening of the mid-nineteenth-century proposed a return to the movement's spatially domineering roots. Evangelicals envisioned a re-expansion of Christianity into the world and a reclamation of individual bodies for God. This dual focus on colonizing public and private/bodily spaces is amply illustrated in many evangelical movements of this time period.

Evangelicals worked to swell their influence in the public sphere, both globally and locally. The British Student Voluntary Missionary Union (SVMU) was formed in 1892 to connect youth wishing to become missionaries to appropriate societies. It was influential in that it provided fresh ideas and enthusiasm for the missionary societies. Moreover, its motto, "The Evangelisation of the World in This Generation," reflected a widespread evangelical belief in God's desire to impose Christianity worldwide. The movement's premillennialism echoed an equally strong impetus to recognize God's temporal control. To many in society, the First World War's horrors seemed to presage the imminent return of Christ. Increasingly, "a darker, more pessimistic note seemed to

[11] Kenneth Coates, "Send Only Those Who Rise a Peg: Anglican Clergy in the Yukon, 1858-1932," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 28 (1986): 10-11.
[12] Gordon Hewitt, The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942, vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1977), 340.
[13] W.S. Hooton and J. Stafford Wright, The First Twenty-Five Years of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society: 1922-47 (London: Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, 1947), 17-20.

many evangelicals to fit better the experience of a world rushing to destruction, a world under judgment, crying out for the return of Christ as judge."[14]

On a smaller scale, organizations such as the Salvation Army, founded in 1865 by Methodist ministers William and Catherine Booth, reintroduced Christian sensibilities to public spaces. A century earlier, their task might have found welcome in the "bourgeois public sphere," in which "individuals gathered to discuss their common public affairs and to organize against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power."[15] Yet by the late nineteenth century, the "refeudalization" of public space meant that public, open discussion had been circumscribed by corporations and the state. The Booths defied these strictures, however, by returning religious discourse to the streets. They invaded working-class neighbourhoods to bring their message to those who did not attend church, could not read the Bible, and had never heard preaching. Their physical control of space was matched by their oral control, which manifested in hymns and sermons that could be heard from miles away.[16] Such actions shocked middle-class Christians, who had erected firm boundaries between private worship or church-bound religion and public secular discourse. Salvationists also challenged other extant boundaries. For example, they refused to create a division between clergy and laity because salvation entitled anybody to interpret and preach God's word.[17] The Salvationists' mission to the world began at home in England, and challenged the separation of public and private discourse in the process.

Evangelicals were no less concerned with Christianity's potential to grant individual salvation through abnegation and recommitment to God. As in the previous century, the individual still chose God over sin, but that choice now entailed the temporary surrender of one's body to the Holy Spirit. Conversion became a "dramatic, ecstatic" event. People could experience "softness, melting and light" or a "sharp bodily struggle" during their transformation into true Christians.[18] Yet temporary surrender alone did not ensure salvation. Only a regular program of devotionalism—prayer and Bible study—could ward off sin. Fervent evangelicals spent several hours each morning in prayer to replenish their spiritual reserves and ensure their Christian behaviour

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[14] Ward, "Taking Stock," 22.
[15] Douglas Kellner, "Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention," n.d., 6 June 2006, <http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/habermas.htm>.
[16] Pamela J. Walker, "'I live but not yet I for Christ Liveth in me': Men and masculinity in the Salvation Army, 1865-90," in Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 98-99.
[17] Ibid., 95.
[18] Ibid., 100.

throughout the day.[19] Evangelicals thus yielded both spatial and temporal control of their bodies and activities to God.

This discussion has aimed to wed historical fact to spatial and temporal discourse when considering Protestant missionary and evangelical movements that informed early-twentieth-century faith workers such as John Turner and Harold Duncan. In several ways, evangelicals contradicted their society's received wisdom. They were intensely religious people who believed in the continuing expansion of God's power over space and time, and who had already accepted such a basis for their own lives. Societies such as the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society provided an organizational framework in which Turner and Duncan would carry their beliefs to the Inuit.

III. The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS)

The BCMS began as a loose coalition of conservative evangelical Anglicans within the CMS who disapproved of the increasingly liberal attitude toward Scripture in the universities, foreign missions, and upper echelons of the Society. Although the liberals and conservatives attempted rapprochement, the latter group was unhappy with the limited concessions to their beliefs, and consequently they formed the BCMS on 27 October 1922. BCMS doctrines demonstrate a strong literalist tendency toward Biblical interpretation, as in the statement that "the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments are wholly trustworthy, historically as well as in matters of faith and doctrine," and in their belief in the truthfulness of Christ's utterances.[20] In other matters, such as justification by faith, the Holy Spirit's "filling" power, devotionalism, and Sabbatarianism,[21] they differed little from other evangelicals.

The Society's training college in Bristol trained their prospective missionaries. Students received a year of general theological training and then sat the General Ordination Examination. Success in the G.O.E. enabled men to serve in English parishes as well as overseas. After graduation, students earmarked for foreign missions could be sent to Burma, Canada, the Arctic, China, India, Persia, or Africa, depending on pressing needs. In 1928, Turner's brother, Arthur, became the first BCMS missionary in the

[19] Richard Ostrander, "The Battery and the Windmill: Two Models of Protestant Devotionalism in Early-Twentieth-Century America," Church History 65 (1996): 57.
[20] Hooton and Wright, First Twenty-Five Years, 220.
[21] The last being a belief in the distinct nature of Sunday, the Sabbath, from all other days—as espoused in the Fourth Commandment—and a concomitant rejection of work or strenuous activity on that day.

Eastern Arctic. Just prior to his departure, the Canadian Anglicans and the Society had negotiated a partnership: the former would match missionaries to missions and have final authority over their actions, and the latter would supply the manpower and funds.[22] All of Baffin Island's Anglican missionaries in the 1930s were therefore part of the BCMS corps. These evangelicals brought a particular understanding of Christianity, as outlined above, to the Arctic shores. No less importantly, they brought their individual experiences and preferences to bear on their flocks.

IV. Harold Duncan and John "Jack" Turner

The personal backgrounds of these two men undoubtedly shaped their responses to succeeding events in Mittimatalik. By comparing and contrasting the early years, schooling, and the conversion and training of both men, this discussion will locate them relative to each other and in their own right as individuals. Duncan's relatively shielded and intense evangelical upbringing certainly differed from Turner's boundless and secular youth. Yet both eventually became aware of their calling to the mission field.

On 17 November 1903 Harold Norton Duncan, the third child of six, was born to Norton Fleetwood Duncan of Sheffield and Evelyn Sherbrooke Duncan of Bournemouth. Both his parents came from intensely religious backgrounds. His father had been an organizing secretary for Irish church missions before becoming the vicar of St. Julian in Shrewsbury in 1904. In addition to his parochial responsibilities he edited The English Churchman, an Anglican broadsheet journal. Duncan's mother was the daughter of Reverend Neville Sherbrooke, an important evangelical leader, and his third wife.[23] Less is known about Turner's family background. He was born on 14 July 1905, the third and last child of Thomas Hudspith Turner of Keswick and Ellen Anna Turner of Felixstowe. Turner's father died four months before John's birth, so Ellen moved herself and her children to Felixstowe where they lived with her parents.[24] Although Ellen was a devout Christian and her father the longstanding parish warden at Sts. Peter and Paul in Felixstowe,[25] there is no evidence of evangelical tendencies in their family.

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[22] Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, 27 April 1989, tape 6.
[23] Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, 25 April 1989, tape 1.
[24] Edward Versey Turner, "The Story of the Brothers Turner, Canons of the Cathedral of All Saints Aklavik, Their Life and Work at Baffin Island, Being Extracts from their Letters and Journals," unpublished manuscript, n.d., 1. HA204/8/2/3.
[25] Maurice S. Flint, Operation Canon: A Short Account of the Life and Witness of the Reverend John Hudspith Turner, M.P.S., Coronation Medal for Arctic Service (1938), Hon. Canon of the Cathedral of All

Duncan's early years were conducted happily within wholly Christian space. The family associated only with other Christian families at their parish, and vacationed each summer in Wales to permit the children's attendance of Christian camps. Both parents were suspicious of "worldly" influences and forbid their children to attend the theatre, pantomime, or cinema. Instead, they would play draughts and dominoes, solve jigsaw puzzles, and draw pictures. Their mother would read them Bible stories, show them pictures of Biblical scenes, and pray with them at home before they were old enough to attend evening services.[26]

By contrast, Turner's upbringing was both secular and largely unpatrolled. His adventurous streak early became apparent. His elder brother Edward remembers that Arthur and Jack "were constantly to be found making their way across the marshes with home made bows and arrows, and camping out in the garden in a tent made with mother's clothes-horse, old mats and bits of linoleum."[27] A fourteen-year-old Turner showed incredible self-reliance when he made a solo journey to an uncle's farm near Falkenham. The seven-mile journey involved overcoming the dangers of the river and the sea: "The waves running up the sea banks & mingling with the swift tide in the narrow channel made things very unpleasant. Many a time Jack thought the boat would be swamped but after a hard & exciting struggle he worked his way through into the wider reaches of the river."[28] Such perseverance later assisted Turner's Arctic travels.

The two men varied in educational ability. Eight-year-old Duncan, a promising young student, was sent to Monkton Combe, a boarding school six miles from Bath. He left three years later because of straitened finances. He then attended Shrewsbury's Kingsland Grange until the family moved to Sheffield in 1916, at which point he secured a Classical scholarship at King Edward VII. Duncan was well-versed in Scripture, Latin, Greek, and other humanities, but had little scientific talent. His poor relationship with a disagreeable Sixth Form master dashed his chances at an Oxbridge education, so he returned to Monkton Combe as a master after his graduation. Whilst at Monkton Combe, he began a correspondence B.A. degree through Trinity College, Dublin.[29]

Turner displayed considerably less scholarly aptitude than Duncan. He graduated from the top form at Ipswich Municipal Secondary School and, as his brother Edward

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Saints at Aklavik in the Diocese of the Arctic, Missionary of The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society in its Eskimo field (London: Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, 1947), 5.

[26] Duncan, interview, tape 1.

[27] Turner, "Brothers Turner," 2.

[28] Edward Turner, "Incidents Relating to Canon Turner's Youth," unpublished notes, n.d., 2. HA204/8/3/3.

[29] Duncan, interview, tape 1.

would have it, "passed his examination well and also gained a membership of the Pharmaceutical Society by extra mural studies."[30] Turner's diary reflects greater difficulty in these matters. On 20 June 1928, he writes, "Got result of [pharmacy] exam – failed. … 1:30 P.M. Soon settle down."[31] On 21 November of the same year, his diary records, "Go to Infirmary. Hear result of G.O.E. Failed! … I told the Lord I could not, honestly, understand it (re Exam)."[32] Only after resitting both examinations did he achieve the necessary qualifications for his missionary career.

Considering now religious experiences, both men experienced second conversions in early adulthood, yet both worked for several years before deciding to become missionaries. Duncan's experience came in 1920, at the age of 17: "I just felt a great need in my own life of someone outside myself. I came into a real sort of living contact with Christ and I knew my sins were forgiven and I got to know Him in a more personal way and committed my life to Him."[33] In the following years, both his older brother Neville, who had also taught at Monkton Combe, and another schoolmaster there became BCMS missionaries. These examples may have influenced Duncan's choice of society.[34] His training began at the Bristol college in 1927. In 1928, he accepted the call to the Arctic, of which Bishop Anderson of Moosonee had spoken during his fundraising tour in Britain. Although Duncan had wanted a Canadian post, he had expected to work among the Cree, and was surprised when informed that his congregation would be Inuit.[35]

Turner's conversion was less self-directed; it came about as a result of his chance attendance at a series of talks about prophecy hosted by Reginald Naish, a well-known evangelical speaker. Three other young men of Felixstowe were converted alongside Turner on 20 December 1925. They followed Naish to his temporary lodgings where "they had a midnight prayer and praise meeting afterwards in the house. From that moment John was all out for the Lord."[36] Turner quit smoking, pasted Bible texts on the outside of his briefcase, and took to handing out Christian pamphlets in public areas.[37] Having applied to BCMS in 1926 and been told to complete his pharmaceutical training,

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[30] Turner, "Brothers Turner," 2.
[31] John Turner, 20 June 1928, Diary 1928-30, np. HA204/6/1/1.
[32] Ibid., 21 November 1928, np.
[33] Duncan, interview, tape 1.
[34] Duncan's sister, Freda, had also joined the BCMS and had been sent to India's United Provinces from 1928-33.
[35] Ibid., tapes 1 and 2.
[36] Flint, Canon, 7.
[37] Ibid., 8, 57-58.

he entered the BCMS college the next year.[38] He attended the Keswick Conference, a well-known evangelical convention, in 1926 and 1927, and cycled the 190 miles there and back because he was too poor to afford anything more comfortable. Although Turner was willing to be sent anywhere in the world, he offered to take up the Mittimatalik challenge alongside Duncan, perhaps in hopes of working with his brother, who had also been posted to that area. Notification of his successful appointment came two months later than that of Duncan, possibly pending his GOE examination result, which arrived at the end of March 1929.[39]

IV. Harold Duncan's and John Turner's personal theologies

Duncan's and Turner's religious beliefs are apparent throughout their diary entries, letters, and articles written by themselves and others in the 1930s and afterwards. The men agree soundly on three points: their faith in providence, their premillennarian beliefs,[40] and the Inuit need for "conviction of sin."[41] Yet despite Duncan's prolonged youthful engagement with religion, it is Turner who demonstrates evidence of the stronger faith.

Both men demonstrate certain belief in Providence. Duncan makes reference to this idea in his 1932 report: "The thought that has been uppermost in my mind during the last few days has been, 'Is anything too hard for the Lord?' It is with very real thankfulness to Him that one is able to testify that the experiences of the past year supply ample proof that the answer to that question is an emphatic negative."[42] Turner displays no less confidence in his private musings: "'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth to Him good.' We came out for the purpose of reaching the Eskimo & the Lord will take

[38] Daniel H.C. Bartlett, letter to John Turner, 3 June 1926. HA204/6/4/5.
[39] Daniel H.C. Bartlett, letter to John Turner, 26 April 1929, HA204/6/4/5; John Turner, 27 February and 27 March 1929, Diary 1928-30, np.
[40] By the nineteenth century, millennarian beliefs had been divided into premillennialism and postmillennialism. The former espoused that the world was coming quickly to an end in Christ's Second Coming and Last Judgment, *after* which the new millennium would dawn. By contrast, postmillennialism argued that once missionaries had completed the task of evangelizing the entire world, a new millennium of peace, prosperity, and happiness would dawn. At the end of this time, Christ's Second Coming would occur. Porter, Religion versus empire?, 193-94.
[41] "Conviction of sin" was a term favoured by Keswick evangelists, of whom Turner seems to have been one. The heart of Keswick theology was "a second experience after conversion in which the struggling, defeated Christian surrendered to Christ and received new power to live a sinless life." Conviction, or realization, of sin was the first step toward salvation in this struggle. Ostrander, "Battery," 55.
[42] Harold Duncan, "Baffin Land," The Missionary Messenger 11 (1933): 23. Also see "Among the Eskimos," The Missionary Messenger 9 (1931): 78.

care of His own work God grant we may learn the lessons He is trying to teach us now & 'let patience have her perfect work.'"[43]

Furthermore, both men appear confident in the Second Coming's immediate approach. Duncan is overly confident of this fact, or so it appears in 2006: "[I]t seems perfectly plain from Scripture that the Times of the Gentiles come to an end in 1934 and the Rapture must take place before that."[44] Turner eschews such bold claims, but demonstrates his belief nonetheless in a letter to his family: "Everything seems to be pointing to His near return more distinctly than ever. We shall raise no objections if our meeting together happens to be in His presence rather than at Felixstowe."[45] Moreover, both men speak of the need of "conviction of sin" among the Inuit. Duncan writes in 1930 of the need for "a great spiritual awakening" so that "many of these people may be brought under real conviction of sin, and so led to the Saviour."[46] The next year, Turner writes resignedly, "There has not been, up to the present, any deep conviction of sin, I fear."[47] On certain tenets, however aware of each other's proclivities, Duncan and Turner reach concordance.

In other matters, the two men appear asymmetrical. Duncan proposed a cause for this discord, half a century later, in conceding that "Jack Turner was absolutely the ideal missionary. He simply reveled in all the work."[48] The religious life came much more easily to Turner than to Duncan. For example, Duncan finds the sustained and heartfelt prayer required of evangelicals difficult to achieve: "I am afraid I still don't find the delight in prayer that I should like to, except at certain times, and this is still the thing that causes me more anxiety than anything else, because it seems to indicate that something is radically wrong."[49] By contrast, Turner, as Duncan remembers, prayed at such great length every morning that when it was Turner's week to make breakfast, meals rarely commenced before noon.[50]

Perhaps in response to his perceived lack of spiritual strength, Duncan seems to require expressions of strong faith from those surrounding him. The sins that most frequently upset him are committed by other people. In May 1932, he notes, "Feeling

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[43] John Turner, 13 March 1932, Diary 1930-32, 32. HA204/6/1/2.
[44] Harold Duncan, 17 Oct 1931, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np. MS1576/2/1.
[45] John Turner, 31 August 1932, Diary letter 1931-32, np. HA204/6/2/4.
[46] Harold Duncan, "Latest News From the Field: The Arctic," The Missionary Messenger 8 (1930): 115.
[47] John Turner, 22 March 1931, Diary letter 1930-31, 22. HA204/6/2/3.
[48] Duncan, interview, tape 1.
[49] Duncan, 9 August 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[50] Duncan, interview, tape 1.

rather oppressed by the Devil's power today – in others rather than in myself."[51] He also expected great religious fervour from the Inuit in connection with their conversion: "I do so long to see a real spiritual awakening … . [T]here can't be the real work in their hearts until there is the breaking down first. I want to see them in tears as they begin to fathom the depths of His love for them."[52] Contrarily, Turner is convinced that his sin causes the downfall of others, and often asks God to forgive his failures in his daily work.[53]

Turner's extreme piety was immediately apparent to all who encountered him. Graham Rowley describes Turner's unshakable faith, or what Christopher Trott terms "a complete surrender to Providence through a hermeneutic dynamic that moved to and from the Bible and everyday events"[54]:

> When the weather was fine, the dogs fit, and all was going well, he thanked God for his blessings. If the weather was foul, the dogs had eaten their harnesses, he had lost his way, and there was nothing left in the food-box, he was confident that God was testing his faith and he thanked God for thinking him worthy of so severe a trial. Such rationalization put both Jack and God in a "no lose" situation.[55]

Finally, Archibald Fleming's assessment may close this discussion as readily as it opened it: "[Turner] was one of the few people I have known who would have gone to the stake cheerfully for his convictions."[56]

Therefore, although Fleming hailed both freshman missionaries as welcome workers, Turner's zeal would come to dwarf that of Duncan, who never found the work as physically simple or spiritually rewarding. He admitted in 1989, "I don't really feel that I was cut out for the Eskimo work. … I'm sorry if the Scott [Polar Research Institute] are making more of my side of things because he really was a marvelous missionary."[57] Having established Duncan's considerable and Turner's exceptional faiths, which were rooted in the cultural, historical, and spatial discourses of three hundred years of evangelism and evangelicalism, this dissertation will now detail the equally forceful Christian beliefs of the Tununermiut that Duncan and Turner would encounter.

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[51] Harold Duncan, 29 May 1932, Diary 16 August 1931-30 September 1932, np. MS1576/1/2.
[52] Duncan, 17 October 1931, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[53] For examples, see John Turner, 22 March and 7 July 1931, Diary 1930-32, np.
[54] Christopher Trott, "The rapture and the rupture: Religious change amongst the Inuit of North Baffin Island," Inuit Studies 21 (1997): 214.
[55] Graham Rowley, Cold Comfort: My Love Affair with the Arctic (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 112.
[56] Fleming, Archibald, 351.
[57] Duncan, interview, tape 1.

Chapter Two: Aboriginal Christianity

> Over there in Pond Inlet when the first [whaling] ship was approaching, the people were terrified. They had the shamans then, and the shamans went into trances and chanted. The Inuit thought the people on the ship had come to murder them. When the white people came to shore, no one spoke or did anything, all were so terrified. … [T]he shamans cast a spell on the *qallunaat*, and they could then do nothing. The Inuit were no longer afraid.[1]

Dorothy Harley Eber rightly notes that "the whalers were the start of change."[2] Change arrived at Mittimatalik in the 1820s and marked the beginning of the contact-traditional era of Inuit history. Over the next century, Tununermiut adopted many aspects of Euro-American culture, including Christianity, and adapted them according to their needs. Euro-American whalers and Euro-Canadian missionaries had introduced Christianity to the Inuit by the 1890s. After that time, Inuit quickly assumed control of this knowledge and integrated it into their pre-existing belief system. Inuit Christianity had been transmitted over great distances by 1920 and embraced by many people. However, this indigenous control of Christianity also produced misunderstandings and retribution between the two cultures. As Tununermiut began to realize the limits of their biblical comprehension, they took action. They asked Bishop Anderson, who visited Mittimatalik in the summer of 1928, to send them teachers who could decode these mysterious yet important concepts.

I. Christianity's arrival at Baffin Island

According to Toolemak, an experienced early-nineteenth-century traveller from Igloolik, the people of Mittimatalik at that time pursued a traditional subsistence lifestyle based primarily, although not exclusively, on whale hunting along their home's coastline.[3] European whalers soon discovered these whale stocks, and in the years 1820-40 those waters supported the bulk of British whaling efforts. However, "along much of the Baffin Island coast the movement of the whalers was unpredictable and irregular," and consequently, "contact with vessels was largely fortuitous and of short duration, and

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[1] Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 3-5.
[2] Eber, When the Whalers, xvii.
[3] Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 129.

systematized trade and employment could not develop."[4] Nor could an understanding of Christianity, which would wait until the arrival of Anglican missionaries in Cumberland Sound. In 1894, Reverends Edward J. Peck and J.C. Parker arrived at Blacklead Island to begin their pioneer evangelizing work on Baffin Island.

The development of Peck's mission bears some examination. Not only was it predicative of later missionary-Inuit encounters, but it also reveals the manner in which Christianity was first conveyed to, and accepted by, the island's Inuit. Peck found the Inuit men unreceptive at first, so he focused on teaching the women and children, whom he enticed with biscuits and coffee. His evangelical work was assisted by the 1897 delivery of syllabic Bibles, although he had been instructing Inuit in reading and writing from his first month there. By 1900, many women and children could read the Gospels, and the shamans' power was weakened, but the men held steadfast to their old beliefs. Not until the powerful shaman Angmarlik began teaching a syncretic form of Christianity that worshipped Sedna, the Inuit goddess of the sea, was Peck able to win the men's respect. For three weeks in 1902, he and Angmarlik took turns preaching their beliefs to the assembled Inuit; public consensus declared Peck victorious. Angmarlik converted to Christianity the following year, and with him converted many of the men. By 1904, thirty people had been baptized, and by the decade's close, twelve men and six women were acknowledged lay preachers who had begun evangelism in remote regions.[5] This brief sketch, based on Peck's diaries, details the highlights of the first missionary brand of Christianity on Baffin Island.

Although Mittimatalik lay significantly farther north, Kenn Harper contends that the first Bible arrived there in 1897, the year of Peck's first shipment.[6] Though improbable, it is not impossible. The whaling industry had caused families to scatter across the island, and travelling long distances had become commonplace. However, Peck probably never visited the northern part of Baffin Island in 1900, as stated both by Ilisapi Ootoowak and by the plaque outside the Anglican church in Mittimatalik.[7] Peck's diaries record travels only to nearby camps, although he did reach Home Bay (Qivittuuq) by

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[4] W. Gillies Ross, "Commercial Whaling and Eskimos in the Eastern Canadian Arctic 1819-1820," in Thule Eskimo Culture: An Anthropological Retrospective, ed. A.P. McCartney (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series/Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper 88, 1979), 251.
[5] Marc G. Stevenson, Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence: Structure in Cumberland Sound and Central Inuit Social Organization (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88-90.
[6] Frédéric Laugrand, Mourir et renaître: La réception du christianisme par les Inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est canadien (1890-1940) (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2002), 190, f38.
[7] Ibid., 192.

whaling ship one year in which he travelled home to England. His catechists, however, travelled widely to spread word and Word of the new religion.[8]

Christianity appears to have come to Mittimatalik indirectly through the intervention of whalers. In 1904, James Mutch, an experienced whaler employed by the Dundee Whaling Company, constructed a whaling station and trading post on Eclipse Sound. The next year he established it permanently at Igarjuaq, less than 10 kilometres east of present-day Mittimatalik. From Cumberland Sound, Mutch brought several Christian families who, apart from attending to their secular duties, also proselytized among the Tununermiut.[9]

II. Christianity's arrival at Mittimatalik

Frédéric Laugrand characterizes the years 1900-20 as ones of "prosélytisme ardent" in the northern Baffin region.[10] In Mittimatalik, however, Christianity's acceptance came gradually. Captain Joseph Elzéar Bernier, who led a government expedition along the eastern Baffin coast in 1906-07, believed the Tununermiut understood little of the religious service that was part of the ship's Christmas celebrations. "Some of them," he wrote, "attended the religious service which formed part of the day's engagements. Although silent and well-behaved, they seemed to be endeavouring to comprehend the meaning of the service and its purpose."[11] Other European accounts suggest that change was occurring in the same population. Fabien Vanasse, the expedition's historian, noted that some of the Tununermiut could read and write their names.[12] Since reading and writing were inseparable from the conveyance of Christianity at that time, those Inuit had likely received the Gospel. Captain A.P. Low, also present in those waters in 1906, observed the same trend: "All are exceedingly anxious to learn to read the books printed by the Church Missionary Society. … Every native who learns to read, and who possess a book, becomes the teacher of the uninstructed; in this manner education is spreading rapidly."[13] Yet Reverend Julian Bilby, whose mission was in Lake Harbour (Kimmirut), maintained in 1907 that the Christians at Mittimatalik "[were] not

[8] Grant, Justice, 18.
[9] Ibid., 21.
[10] Laugrand, Mourir, 428.
[11] Joseph Elzéar Bernier, Report on the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to the Arctic Islands and Hudson Strait on board the D.G.S. Arctic (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910), 48.
[12] Laugrand, Mourir, 423.
[13] Quoted in Ibid., 201.

many and were taken from the Gulf about 5 years ago. They did not know very much and [were] greatly outnumbered by the heathen."[14] Although the fledgling group could demonstrate little immediate success, they appear to have built the foundations for conversion in the area.

The next decade saw some Tununermiut embrace Christianity fervently. In 1910, Bernard Hantzsch reported that a new group of Christians had arrived at Mittimatalik from Blacklead Island.[15] Perhaps these newcomers, having had a longer immersion in Christianity than any other group, wielded the Gospel more persuasively than had previous immigrants. Alfred Tremblay noted two years later that a Christian family had gathered several hundred Inuit together to celebrate Christmas and New Year's Day.[16] Tremblay does not record the family's names, but Samuel Arnakallak identifies Quqqualuk, Qupallu, Qumattu, and Inugut as proselytizers from southern Baffin Island who lived near Mittimatalik from 1912-15.[17]

In the last of those years, many Inuit seem to have converted. Arnakallak remembers that "[his parents] decided to follow more the Bible in 1914-15."[18] But resistance remained strong elsewhere. Ahlooloo, born at Mittimatalik in 1908, recalls, "I also remember when there were shamans. At that time Christianity was not widespread; few had heard of it. When the shamans came to the drum dances, the children were left alone in an area removed from the dancing. We were aware, but never really knew, what was going on."[19] Even if adherents to traditional beliefs remained, Christianity had gained enough purchase that some proselytizers moved from Mittimatalik into adjoining regions. Several Igloolik elders trace their community's reception of Christianity to Mittimatalik proselytizers.[20] Proselytizers also journeyed north. Peck noted in 1917 that an Inuk from Mittimatalik had "travelled a long distance north, where he met some strange Eskimos of

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[14] Quoted in Ibid., 192.
[15] Bernard Hantzsch, My Life among the Eskimos: Baffinland Journeys in the years 1909 to 1911, trans. and ed. Leslie H. Neatby (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Institute for Northern Studies, 1977), 38.
[16] Alfred Tremblay, Cruise of the Minnie Maud, Arctic Sea and Hudson Bay, 1910-11 and 1912-13 (Québec: Arctic Exchange and Publishing Limited, 1921), 47-53. Also in 1912, Bernier, on his second voyage into the Arctic, distributed more than 600 bibles along Baffin Island's eastern coast. Karen Evans, "Edmund James Peck: His Contribution to Eskimo Literacy and Publishing," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 26 (1976): 64.
[17] Laugrand, Mourir, 196.
[18] Ibid., 197.
[19] Susan Cowan, ed., We don't live in snow houses now: Reflections of Arctic Bay (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Producers Ltd., 1976), 25.
[20] Laugrand, Mourir, 194, 198-202.

very small stature. … [H]e expounded to them more fully the things he knew, and they ultimately desired to believe in God."[21]

By 1920, Christianity in Mittimatalik had progressed to the second of Laugrand's stages, "effervescence ou de renouvellement religieux."[22] Elements of syncretism became more noticeable. Europeans recorded the emergence of new amulets, such as crucifixes and books; new rites, such as handshaking and collective hymn singing; and new religious injunctions, such as Sabbatarianism.[23] However, explorers never mentioned the practice of *siqqitiq*—the north Baffin rite that combined elements of Christian baptism and eucharist with the consumption of certain meats against shamanistic taboos—and evidence suggests they did not even know of its existence.[24] Simon Akpaliapik, a Tununermiut elder, describes the ceremony:

> People went through *siqqitiq* to start a new life (*innusiq*) and to forget about the old life and about shamanism in order to follow Christianity. When someone got an animal from the hunt, they would take some meat from that animal, like lung (*puvaq*), heart (*uummati*), liver (*tinguq*) and cut it into small pieces to share it with the others. As those people would eat it, they would start Christianity. … After *siqqitiq*, people could eat everything and forget about the shamans.[25]

Although George Kappianaq from Igloolik received *siqqitiq* before the Gospel,[26] more often *siqqitiq* occurred after some text-based proselytization. Elders recall that "il fallut attendre l'arrivée d'un ou de plusieurs auxiliaires du Révérend Peck pour que les véritables conversions commencent … et que les Inuit pratiquent le *siqqitiq.*"[27] Only recognized Inuit proselytizers could administer the meat and embody the authority necessary to disobey ritual injunctions.

A man named Akko-mo-lee or Akumalik fulfilled this role in the early 1920s, according to Kappianaq's account of *siqqitiq*. Although originally from Cumberland Sound, Akumalik proselytized extensively near Mittimatalik.[28] Henry Toke Munn, who

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[21] Ibid., 431-32.
[22] Ibid., 429.
[23] Corporal Finlay McInnes's 1922 experience of syncretic religion at a camp on Eclipse Sound is quoted at length in Grant, Justice, 147.
[24] Laugrand notes that while both Knud Rasmussen in 1921 and Therkel Mathiassen in 1921-23 travelled in areas where *siqqitiq* may have been practiced, neither described the practice. Mourir, 454, f11.
[25] Ibid., 455-56.
[26] Ibid., 456.
[27] Ibid., 194. "It was necessary to wait for the arrival of one or more of Reverend Peck's helpers so that the true conversions could begin … and so that the Inuit could practice *siqqitiq*" (my translation).
[28] There is some scholarly debate over the identity of this man. Marc Stevenson believes he was actually the former shaman Angmarlik whom Peck had defeated (Stevenson, Inuit, Whalers, 127). However, I agree with Laugrand (Mourir, 195, f44) when he argues that Stevenson makes this identification too quickly.

traded nearby in the 1910s, remembered that "his explanations of the Christian tenets were vague and crude. [His] explanations only enabled them to tack the new belief on to their older one, and I was sometimes called on to explain difficult theological problems."[29] Hence the syncretic brand of Christianity prevailed at Mittimatalik as elsewhere. However the beliefs of the Tununermiut were described, most self-identified as Christian by the mid-1920s. Samuel Arnakallak emphasizes that "I was born in 1923 in Mittimatalik. People were already Christian when I was born."[30] In just twenty years, Tununermiut had received the Bible, considered its implications, and adapted its precepts and requirements to their lives, all without direct European persuasion or coercion. But how did they understand and rationalize their conversion? Furthermore, as Vicente Rafael asks about the Tagalog, who converted under similar circumstances, "Did the terms of … submission coincide with or substantially differ from missionary expectations, and how and to what extent?"[31]

III. The Tununermiut rationale for conversion

Since scholarly interest in Native-Euro-Canadian relations arose in the 1960s, much discussion has ensued over Native reasons for adopting Christianity. Yet many of these theories are predicated on situations where Natives had to accept Euro-Canadian religion as part of the "civilizing" process. By contrast, the Inuit of northern Baffin Island remained largely autonomous throughout the period of their Christianization, and so the attraction must have lain elsewhere. Economic factors would not have influenced them greatly. The area's independent traders welcomed all, regardless of their beliefs. Moreover, their goods made the lives of the Tununermiut more comfortable during the period of conversion than had previously been the case.[32] Thus their Christianity would not have been a "crisis" response to a decline in quality of living, as some scholars have

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Laugrand and Shelagh Grant (Justice, 265) are content to limit their discussion of Akumalik's activities to the early 1920s. I believe this same man was still in Mittimatalik ten years hence, and played an important role in early contact with the missionaries, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

[29] Henry Toke Munn, Prairie Trails and Arctic By-ways (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1932), 247.

[30] Laugrand, Mourir, 424.

[31] Vicente L. Rafael, "Confession, Conversion, and Reciprocity in Early Tagalog Colonial Society," in Colonialism and Culture, ed. Nicholas Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 70.

[32] Laugrand, Mourir, 430.

suggested in other situations.[33] The Tununermiut conversion represented a desire for something better, not a guard against something worse. But what did they hope to gain?

The Nlha7kápmx of southern British Columbia had also requested a missionary in the late nineteenth century. There, as in the North, an interest in Christianity had arisen "before the gold rush, before the onset of white settlement, and long before [the missionary arrived in 1870]," and may have dated back to first contact.[34] Brett Christophers begins his explanation of Nlha7kápmx conversion with reference to a strong Native spirituality. Laugrand, speaking from a north Baffin standpoint, agrees. Inuit Christianity, he contends, should be interpreted as "un continuum culturel plutôt que dans la discordance ou la cacophonie."[35] Structurally speaking, shamans enjoyed similar relationships with Christian spirits after their conversion to those they had maintained with traditional spirits. In becoming Christian proselytizers, shamans kept their traditional authority intact while appropriating the new spirits' power for themselves.[36]

This reasoning accounts for the sense of *necessity* found in elders' conversion stories. Hubert Amarualik recounts that "when Christianity began, we *had* to go through a very hard time. We *had* to go through confession"[37] (emphasis mine). Noah Piuggaatuk frames conversion in terms of inescapable necessity: "As there was religion in Mittimatalik, this area (Iglulik) *had* to become religious too …. Even if they were hunting over there, they *had* to come. As we were living in Kangiqsuqjuaq, way over there, we *had* to become religious people"[38] (emphasis mine). Particularly in indirect evangelization zones such as Mittimatalik, where missionaries and shamans did not clash, the shaman still possessed the most power in the district. As such, he or she could convince others that it was in their best interests to convert.

In fact, Christian and Inuit beliefs often overlapped considerably, so perhaps shamans had little work in persuasion. Simon Shaimaijuk observes, "It seems that both Christianity and Inuit culture were very similar … Even before, we were using a Christian

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[33] Crisis theories are found largely in the older scholarship on Native-Euro-Canadian relations. Three examples of this literature are Richard Slobodin, Metis of the Mackenzie District (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1966); Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976); and Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
[34] Christophers, Positioning, 15.
[35] Laugrand, Mourir, 411. "A cultural continuum rather than as a discordance or cacophony" (my translation).
[36] Ibid., 422.
[37] Ibid., 426-27.
[38] Ibid., 194.

way but we did not know that it was a Christian way."[39] For example, some of Peck's first lessons treated the topics of "a new birth" and "the taking away of sins by God."[40] These concepts resonated with traditional characterizations of death and rebirth in Inuit stories, and found a further outlet in *siqqitiq*.[41] Moreover, Christianity could offer answers to questions that traditional stories did not mention; in this sense, it enhanced, not replaced prior beliefs. A-oo-la told Fleming that "our fathers told us many things both wise and good. They did not lie to us but there were many things of which they were ignorant. If you can tell us more we are willing to hear your words."[42] As the 1920s progressed, Tununermiut would certainly have more occasion, and much more desire, to listen to a Euro-Canadian missionary.

IV. Why Tununermiut wanted a missionary (and received four)

Having suggested why Christianity may have appealed to Inuit generally, this discussion will now consider why Tununermiut requested a missionary in 1928. The Inuit form of Christianity took its basic structure from the shamanistic taboo-based religion of the past. Structurally speaking, it gave the Inuit little cross-cultural ability to understand the ways in which the secular agencies entering the North operated. The growing complexity of Euro-Canadian presence in Mittimatalik, and the cultural differences even within those institutions, would have created serious disjunctures for Inuit. One can infer that the Inuit needed to reconcile this dissonance by reference to a sympathetic example of Euro-Canadian agency: the Anglican church. Although any specific claim to knowledge of Inuit intentionality in this case must remain limited, evidence suggests that the request for a missionary arose primarily out of structural concerns. Because of fanatical religious revivals near Mittimatalik in the 1920s in conjunction with a high-profile murder trial in the settlement, Tununermiut realized that they could not comprehend Euro-Canadian sacred or secular laws well enough to function in an increasingly Euro-Canadian-regulated society. Therefore, they sought a competent authority to interpret these foreign regulations.

Occasionally, as Inuit steeped in traditional beliefs encountered Christian literature, the two religious systems would collide like hot and cold air masses and

[39] Ibid., 3.
[40] Ibid., 316.
[41] Trott, "The rapture," 222-23.
[42] Fleming, Archibald, 133.

produce a figurative storm of response. These prophetic movements, recorded in RCMP reports from the 1920s onward, seem to have existed earlier and in greater number than European accounts detail.[43] The Anglican practice of distributing Bibles to Inuit in far-flung regions and assuming cultural translatability was certainly not foolproof. Many accounts exist of Inuit interpreting a particular passage to humorous result.[44] Yet literacy can be a powerful new technology in oral cultures that renders its recipients "open to all the currents that flow through the global human society in print."[45] Sometimes the immediacy of stories or concepts that had settled over thousands of years into Judeo-Christian culture surprised Inuit and elicited unstable behaviour.

Both cultures characterized this behaviour as negative. Police called the neo-prophets "mentally deranged," "lunatic," or "insane"; the Inuit referred to them as "people who feel too much," "those who over-do religion," or *ukpirluaqtut*, "those who believe too much."[46] Their behaviour was sometimes reprehensible. During what Peter Pitseolak describes as the "first religious time" in Seekooseelak in 1901:

> Keegak was jumping on the front side of a man who was lying on the ground. Martha was doing the same to a woman. The man's son told Keegak to stop jumping on his father so the man didn't die. This man was on the ground because he wasn't supposed to refuse if Keegak told him to do something. People were thinking that when Jesus was crucified he wasn't fighting back. … No doubt he was trying to copy Jesus.[47]

Not all of the movements had such severe impact. Igloolik's 1920-23 religious revival saw such syncretic gestures as ritualistic handshaking upon entering and leaving a camp, raucous hymn singing, and the suspension of a white flag.[48] The variety of the movements' characteristics was matched by the inconsistency with which authorities responded. For example, the RCMP took three years to investigate allegations of three murders at Qivittuuq with little result.[49] Yet another movement less destructive to human life was criticized harshly:

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[43] Shelagh Grant, "Religious fanaticism at Leaf River, Ungava, 1931," Inuit Studies 21 (1997): 163.
[44] Duncan gives a Mittimatalik example in one letter: "I discovered some time ago that Akoomalik was confusing pagan Rome and papal Rome – in connection with some explanation while we were reading Romans – and was giving the Romanists the credit for some of Nero's misdeeds." 24 July 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[45] David M. Stowe, "Modernization and Resistance: Theological Implications for Mission," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (1988): 146.
[46] Grant, "Fanaticism," 162.
[47] Peter Pitseolak, People from Our Side (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975), 43.
[48] Therkel Mathiassen, "Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos," Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-1924, vol. 6:1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1928), 325.
[49] Grant, Justice, 139, 153, 187, 217.

> We found out afterwards that what we were doing wasn't right, and the R.C.M.P. and ministers came to investigate what was happening. I learned that if you do things you aren't supposed to, it can be dangerous. … [Both Euro-Canadian agencies] said we had gone too far. I learned that even when they aren't trying to frighten you, you do get frightened, though I realized they were trying to protect us from doing anything wrong.[50]

However, Inuit could not always distinguish "acceptable" from "unacceptable"; one culture's remedy was another culture's nightmare. The cultural mismatch resurfaced after Robert Janes's murder near Mittimatalik in 1920.

However gained, Tununermiut had a violent reputation among other Inuit. In 1903, Mutch had little success initially in convincing Cumberland Sound Inuit to emigrate to Mittimatalik: "They were afraid of the Ponds Bay Eskimo, as there were so many murders up there."[51] Peck received independent confirmation from Inuit who told him that "far away in the distant north there are other Eskimos who, … were 'horrible creatures,' who thought nothing of killing each other."[52] However, such comments may have stemmed from the traditional Inuit mistrust of strangers. Deaths caused by shamans were also not uncommon.[53]

No fewer than four trading posts arose in the Mittimatalik region by 1920. The presence of strangers combined with the rising number of guns among the Inuit produced tensions. One trader, Robert Janes of Newfoundland, began to behave erratically in the winter of 1920, and threatened to kill the Inuit and their dogs if the former did not comply with his wishes. Inuit traditional law labelled him a threat to the community, and so a man named Nuqallaq killed him. Although the Inuit approved of this outcome, it happened at a volatile time for Arctic law enforcement. In April 1922, when Inspector A.H. Joy was investigating Janes's murder at Mittimatalik, an Inuk prisoner killed a sleeping RCMP corporal and later a fur trader at Tree River in the Western Arctic. The government concluded that the leniency shown to Inuit murderers—such as Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, who had killed two Catholic priests in 1914—had encouraged further violence. The law had to make an example of Nuqallaq. As Shelagh Grant observes, "Nuqallaq would be

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[50] Cowan, Snow houses, 44.
[51] James Mutch, "Whaling in Ponds' Bay," in Boas Anniversary Volume: Anthropological Papers Written in Honour of Franz Boas, ed. Berthold Laufer (New York: G.E. Stechert & Co., 1906), 485.
[52] Arthur Lewis, The Life and Work of the Rev. E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), 343.
[53] Cowan, Snow houses, 21.

tried and punished not so much for what he did at Cape Crauford but for what Alikomiak had done at Tree River."[54]

A full trial was held at Mittimatalik in September 1923 with southern judicial and journalistic representatives. While the Inuit had little comprehension of the proceedings, the policemen sparked fear in one little boy's mind:

> The *polisialuk* [policeman] has brought his huge knife. He is going to cut my head off. I thought I was going to be beheaded! I ran behind a chair crying, trying to hide. But I was to be more frightened. I was terrified: the *polisialuk* reached behind the chair, he wanted to pick me up. This was it! He took me in his hand. I was going to be beheaded. I screamed and cried in terror. The policeman had to hand me to my mother.[55]

This reaction, while extreme, exemplifies the fear that the police provoked in the Tununermiut generally. When four policemen arrived to establish their post in 1922, their presence was inexplicable to Inuit. The whalers and traders provided economic sustenance, and the missionaries provided spiritual instruction. The RCMP were merely "reacting to what was going on, not actively promoting a change in Inuit socio-economic structures."[56] Their lack of purpose could have been perceived with unease. Soon, the police began gathering information about regional human and wildlife resources. The Inuit, who regard questions as rude and intrusive, could not understand why the *qallunaat* wanted such information, and became even more fearful of their motives. Elders remembered these impositions, while they did not recall occasions upon which the policemen had performed welfare duties, such as distributing rations and blankets to the needy.[57]

This medley of responses to the police suggests that Tununermiut responded to them principally with fear, or *ilira*, in the 1920s. Fear is common in Inuit life: given the difficult conditions of survival, one feared cold, starvation, evil spirits, the souls of dead humans and animals, and illness and suffering.[58] Moreover, *ilira* is a specific deferential or submissive reaction to frightening or intimidating individuals. Given that the Tununermiut frequently did not understand the reasoning behind police actions, *ilira* was the most sensible response at the time. Subsequent events proved this correct. In 1925,

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[54] Grant, Justice, 128-29.
[55] Hugh Brody, The Other Side of Eden: Hunter-Gatherers, Farmers and the Shaping of the World (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 2001), 218-19.
[56] Lee E. Weissling, "Inuit Life in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, 1922-1942: Change as Recorded by the RCMP," The Canadian Geographer 35 (1991): 60.
[57] Grant, Justice, 231.
[58] Grant, "Fanaticism," 180.

three years after the Janes trial, police in the Eastern Arctic were told to display a poster implying "that the powers belonging to the Department of Justice had been transferred to the local police, giving them unrestricted powers to kill a murderer."[59] The police protested this order in that it would cause relations to deteriorate between themselves and their "wards."

This issue has another relevant dimension, and here the connection with religious movements emerges. Observers of contact-traditional Inuit societies note that Inuit do not always distinguish between sacred and secular laws. Kenneth Coates argues that they may well have felt that the police's decrees were "powerful magic that should be followed to the letter."[60] Jean Briggs discovered a similar situation during her fieldwork with the Utku of Back River when her adopted father Inuttiaq proclaimed that the police and God had forbidden shooting of muskoxen except in cases of starvation.[61] Perhaps, seeing how harshly the police had punished the violators of secular laws, some among the Tununermiut were concerned that they would be similarly unforgiving over broken sacred laws. But since Euro-Canadians such as the police were the sole arbitrators of appropriate behaviour in public religious displays, the Inuit may have wanted a Euro-Canadian person whom they did not fear to offer guidance.

Lydia Kayak's comment that the Tununermiut liked the Anglican regime more than the Catholic one because it was so strict may support this conclusion.[62] Both Anglican and Catholic Inuit held this opinion generally[63] although some found the

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[59] Grant, Justice, 225.
[60] Kenneth Coates, Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985), 157.
[61] Jean L. Briggs, Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 58-59.
[62] Shirley Sawtell, personal communication, 19 May 2006. It is important to note the provenance of the requests that brought both groups to Mittimatalik. A former Hudson's Bay Company post manager had written to Arsene Turquetil, the Apostolic Vicar of the Arctic, in 1923 requesting that a Catholic priest be sent to the community. The Company manager seems also to have recognized the need for religious control in the area to combat the unpredictable effects of syncretism. His letter mentions the Qivittuuq movement that had turned violent in 1921 and caused three deaths. However, delays meant that the Catholics could not send priests to Mittimatalik until 1929. The Inuit, meantime, had already requested Anglican ministers of Bishop Anderson in 1928. In light of the potential Catholic competition in that area, Bishop Anderson and the BCMS felt it urgent to send missionaries to Mittimatalik in 1929. Thus, although the mission there may have ultimately been established more because of Anglican concerns than those of Inuit, the fact remains that the Inuit requested Anglicans in particular to minister to them. Harold Duncan confirms this fact even fifty years later: "They had asked for us, so they were duty-bound to support us once we were there!" Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, n.d., tape 13.
[63] Cornelius H.W. Remie and Jarich Oosten, "The birth of a Catholic Inuit community: The transition to Christianity in Pelly Bay, Nunavut, 1935-1950," Inuit Studies 26 (2002): 137.

Anglican rules trying.[64] In part, comfort stemmed from familiarity, in that Inuit were accustomed to religious systems comprised of taboos. As Laugrand asks, "Comment le christianisme pouvait-il être reçu autrement que par l'intermédiaires de ces catégories d'entendement ou grilles mentales des Inuit?"[65] Yet based on distant and proximate events, Tununermiut may have realized that their own shamans and catechists knew little more than they did about which rules had to be followed. The stakes for disobedience had risen such that in 1925 they could necessitate the surrender of one's life.

John Matthiasson has characterized the Inuit response to life as "watch and wait," in that Inuit do not commit themselves quickly to action. They will observe a new situation and withdraw to consider its implications, and by the next encounter they will have incorporated that additional knowledge.[66] In 1928, perhaps the Tununermiut decided that they had seen enough *qallunaat* reactions to know that they needed additional assistance in navigating cross-cultural tensions. While their Christianity had formed independently of missionaries, it was increasingly pressured to conform. The Inuit may have sought a missionary in full acceptance of that fact. As a first step toward safety, they asked Bishop Anderson for baptism when he visited in 1928; accordingly, he baptized 35 people and confirmed 28 more.[67] When permanent Anglican missionaries arrived, however, the Tununermiut would receive not only religious strictures, but also cultural English rules well outside their cultural comprehension. The next chapter will detail the ensuing conflict.

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[64] Michel Kupaaq justified his choice of Catholicism by explaining the practical downside to the Anglican rule-based regime: "Anglican Ministers would teach their followers not to do anything on Sundays, these Roman Catholic priests didn't say much about it. Anglican followers believe that if they died, they would go through that rifle's hole to Heaven. So they would not even make a shot on Sundays. At that time, on Sundays for example, if my pant broke in a part, Roman Catholic followers could sew it, but Anglican believers, even if their pant was all open, they could not do anything. Anglican ministers used to preach them that if they sew on Sunday, when they would die, they would have to go through that needle hole to go where they are going. Anglican followers never went hunting on Sundays." Laugrand, Mourir, 304.

[65] Ibid., 204. "How could Christianity have been received other than by the intermediary [power] of these Inuit categories of understanding or mental frameworks?" (my translation)

[66] Matthiasson, Living, 26.

[67] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 38. Trott is surprised at these baptisms "given the general reluctance of the evangelicals to baptize until after conversion" (51, f28). However, Trott risks conflating the beliefs of Duncan and Turner with those of the Canadian Anglican bishops such as Fleming and Anderson (which, once more, is why it is so important not to disregard religious and theological factors in one's analysis of missionaries). The bishops worked with many disparate missionary societies to find workers for their dioceses. Fleming wrote of the troubles he had in justifying his relationships with high-church Anglicans such as the SPG to low-church groups such as the BCMS, and vice versa (Archibald, 276-79). It is likely that Anderson took a less stringent view of conversion, as evidenced by his reasoning: "[T]hey asked for baptism for themselves and children. As they professed faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, I could see no reason to refuse their request." What Anderson does not mention is that *any* profession of Anglican faith would probably have been adequate at that time, as there was no telling when Catholics would enter the region. In baptizing the Inuit as Anglicans, Anderson gave that creed a headstart in the "race for souls."

Chapter Three: Worlds Collide

> Space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power.[1]

> "The question of alterity," [Peter Mason] writes, "poses the question of the border: where is the rupture between self and other to be situated?" This border begins with one's body, quickly extends to one's community, and soon becomes quite literally a *geography* of difference—us *here* and you *over there*.[2]

These two statements by Michel Foucault and John Hawley will frame this discussion of space, knowledge, and power in Mittimatalik from 1929-34. Neither the Anglican missionaries nor the Tununermiut lacked in religious sincerity or fervour, so their difficulties must have arisen from cultural factors. However, the power to impose cultural strictures lay in the control of what Henri Lefebvre calls "the representation of space," or "the dominating places of regulatory or 'ruly' discourse … the representations of power and ideology, of control and surveillance."[3] While Duncan and Turner controlled cultural practices within the mission, and set up tight boundaries to control the passage of Inuit bodies and objects, they could not impose their will upon the settlement, in which the secular Euro-Canadian culture of the police and Hudson's Bay Company men held sway. Nor could Turner, when he began to travel on the land, assert his demands successfully in Inuit-oriented and Inuit-controlled space. However, it was this last conjunction of bodies that permitted cultural understanding. Tununermiut gained respect for Turner's ability to adapt himself to their cultural ways on the land, even if he could not do so in the settlement. His newfound maturity in Inuit terms may have given his religious views greater weight among the Inuit.

I. The mission: an English representation of space

More than any other nation, the English seemed prone to create "little Englands" in private space within foreign cultures. An Oblate father noted that the Anglican will

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[1] Paul Rabinow, "Space, Knowledge, and Power. Interview: Michel Foucault," in The Foucault Reader, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 256.
[2] John C. Hawley, "Making Disciples of all Nations," in Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other, ed. John C. Hawley (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), 6.
[3] Soja, Thirdspace, 67.

"[install] himself with what he can muster of the comfort and the cheer of a simple English home."[4] In Mittimatalik, this project was not meant to secure the missionaries' precarious positions in colonial power schemes by "mimicking stereotypical imperial practices of racial superiority."[5] Nor was it a facet of the general Anglican failing to adapt to aboriginal culture, for Duncan's and Turner's records contain ample evidence of integration with Inuit lifeways. At base, it was a human response to an uncertain, sometimes frightening situation. In the midst of unfamiliar language and behaviour, the missionaries sought cultural confirmation of their identity, nationality, and behavioural standards.[6] "Fear" thus existed on both sides of the equation.

Duncan and Turner may never have needed to question either their Englishness or their manliness before their northern experience, although neither quality was entirely secure in English society at that time. Robert Young argues that the English identity appears not to have been self-sustaining. It was always ratified by other people's perceived characteristics, and therefore required the Other in the process of self-definition.[7] Moreover, manliness, especially in the aftermath of World War I, contained many tensions bound up in its expectations. Men were taught that manliness had to be managed, especially by maintaining explicit boundaries between gendered behaviours.[8] Indeed, in Mittimatalik, Duncan and Turner discovered that part of their gendered identity—their bachelorhood—directly affected their work. Men and women across the North spent much of their time cooking, cleaning, and carrying out other domestic chores. While Euro-Canadian women confirmed their feminine identities in these duties,[9] for male missionaries, they hindered *real* work—studying the Bible and learning Inuktitut in order to deliver effective sermons.

The two Anglicans at Mittimatalik appeared apologetic about their new domestic responsibilities in their letters. Duncan wrote that "it has just struck me that the impression you may get from all this is that our time is almost entirely spent on manual work and secular matters: in some ways we do seem to spend a lot of time on them."[10] Realizing that domestic help would be desirable, Duncan asked the catechist's wife,

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[4] Adrian G. Morice, Thawing Out the Eskimo, trans. Mary T. Loughlin (Boston: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1943), 15.
[5] Johnston, Writings, 9.
[6] As did Euro-Canadian women in the early twentieth-century North. Kelcey, Alone, 35.
[7] Young, Desire, 2.
[8] Gail Ching-Liang Low, White Skins/Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism (London: Routledge, 1996), 19-22.
[9] Kelcey, Alone, 35.
[10] Harold Duncan, 15 May 1933, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 30. MS 1576/2/2.

Mary, to care for the house while he and Turner undertook heavy manual labour outside, such as painting, hauling ice from the glaciers, or hunting.[11] This solution freed the missionaries from aspersions of secularity and femininity, but said freedom was not to last for long. Duncan and Turner soon discovered that Mary was unable to recognize and maintain boundaries between English and Inuit practices in the mission, and was therefore polluting their space.

Mary Douglas has theorized about the dangerous relationship between boundaries, purity, and contamination.[12] From Duncan's and Turner's observations about Inuit life, it is plain that they considered the Inuit to have little or no conception of many important boundaries. In contrast to the regulated eating and sleeping times of Duncan's childhood, the Inuit "slept when they were tired and ate when they were hungry and hunted when they wanted to or needed to."[13] Moreover, the Inuit could not exercise boundary control in the matter of contagion, in that Euro-Canadian bandages or stitches never remained intact for long.[14] Conversely, English culture had higher expectations of household servants and of women. In the early twentieth century, servants, although themselves of the "polluting poor," were entrusted with separating and protecting their employers from that disorderly world.[15] Moreover, women's duties involving food, body waste, clearing, and cleaning rendered them familiar with chaos and pollution, and so they were also expected to protect the household from contamination.[16]

From the outset, Duncan and Turner kept control of activities involving food. They cooked their own meals, which was not uncommon among northern bachelors, and refused to allow Inuit to share their meals.[17] The former decision may have arisen from

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[11] John Turner, June 1930, Diary letter 1929-30, np. HA204/6/2/2.

[12] These concerns also extend to the individual body: "For Douglas, the body is traced with the values of culture: the contours of the body are the contours of society: each reproduces the 'nature' of both the powers and dangers credited to social structure." Steve Pile, The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity (London: Routledge, 1996), 186.

[13] Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, 26 April 1989, tape 3.

[14] Duncan gives a good example in a letter home: "I bandaged [Taisoapik] up and drew a vivid picture of possible complications if he didn't leave it alone and keep it covered. In spite of which he took the stitches out himself the next day, after which he scorned the use of a bandage of any sort! Such is Eskimo regard for the white man's knowledge of surgery and hygiene." 17 August 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.

[15] Davidoff et al, The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960 (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1999), 167. A description of a rough nineteenth-century London area, "where rubbish filled the streets, windows were always closed, meals ran into each other, and beds flowed into all the rooms, with smells, crush and messiness everywhere," curiously parallels the description of Inuit igloos in much ethnographic literature.

[16] Ibid., 75.

[17] For examples of other northern Euro-Canadian bachelors who prepared their own food, see Sydney Montague, North to Adventure (London: Jarrolds, 1939), 40; Lewis, Life and Work, 77; and Fleming, Archibald, 56. It is clearly demonstrated that Inuit and Euro-Canadians did not have meals together in Euro-

latent disgust over Inuit eating habits, such as their enjoyment of raw meat, or may have been another way of entrenching the missionaries' Englishness. Their "mental map of flavours … placed European imports at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of foodstuffs."[18] But the missionaries attempted to outsource the cleaning to Mary, only to find that she was talented at making and washing skin clothing, but useless at combatting dirt and filth.[19] Countless Arctic journals and letters reported this problem. Euro-Canadian and Inuit standards of cleanliness did not mesh, but few in the 1930s would have realized that the Euro-Canadian mania for cleanliness interfered with native customs and may have offended native women.[20] Mary having been adjudged a failure as a servant and woman, Duncan and Turner had once more to assume domestic duties.

"Housework," Anne McClintock notes, "is a semiotics of boundary maintenance. Cleaning is not inherently meaningful: it creates meaning through the demarcation of boundaries."[21] Mary's failure to understand the importance of cleanliness was especially grievous considering that the Inuit were liable to breach the house's boundaries at any time and at length. On 13 November 1929, Turner records, "Kept up by 2 a.m. by visitors. Thank God for the privilege." The next day, he sighs, "Very tired this morning and we all have sleep after breakfast. Only one visitor during the day. Thank God for respite!"[22] Similar behaviour caused Jean Briggs some stress during her fieldwork: "My tent was never empty, from the time I awoke in the morning (and sometimes before) until, frayed to exhaustion, I retreated into the warm solitude of my sleeping bag. … I felt wooden within and without."[23] For the Inuit, visiting was an essential part of social relations. Their culture abhorred loneliness, and frequent visiting ensured no one would suffer from isolation. The Tununermiut may also have been curious about Western objects or desirous

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Canadian houses by Turner's consternation when Akumalik tries to cross this line. On 8 April 1931, he writes, "Offend Akamalik & Ungnowya by hinting that A must not think himself more favoured than the others. He has been coming in regularly at meal times lately & expecting special privileges" (Diary 1930-32, np). The problem seems to have been resolved by 27 April, when he writes, "Akamalik not to come regularly to meals (as he has been doing)" (Diary 1930-32, np). It should also be noted, however, that the missionaries never ate in Inuit shacks or igloos unless travelling, although they visited the settlement's Inuit in their own homes regularly. In response to a question from Wendy Arundale as to whether the missionaries had shared Inuit meals, Duncan said, "Not usually, no, it was just a visit. No I can't remember having a meal actually with them" (Interview with Arundale, 28 April 1989, tape 7). Separate communal eating in both cases may have been enforced by the missionaries, but more likely it was desired by both parties.

[18] Elizabeth M. Collingham, Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 71.

[19] Turner, 18 February 1931, Diary letter 1930-31, np.

[20] Kelcey, Alone, 44.

[21] McClintock, Leather, 170.

[22] Turner, 13 and 14 November 1939, Diary 1928-30, np.

[23] Briggs, Never in Anger, 26.

of religious instruction. But to Duncan and Turner, socialized in a Western world where privacy implied freedom, personal autonomy, and property ownership,[24] this constant barrage of people must have sorely tested their intercultural empathy.

It was not that the mission's material boundaries were fixed. The kitchen served alternately as a place for food preparation, for indoor games with children, and for worship. Although the living room adjoining the kitchen was meant for Duncan and Turner's private use and had a foldable door separating it from the kitchen, in practice the boundary remained unused.[25] Additionally, Duncan's and Turner's diaries record the constant shifting of objects to maximize space availability and, one suspects, to alleviate boredom. Adam James Smith notes that in Antarctica, the need for small spaces to accommodate a variety of people and tasks necessitates temporary physical relationships. Personal space being at a premium, boundaries shift to create more or less of it as time permits.[26] As long as the missionaries controlled their house's boundary discourse, some trespass was allowed.

The problem, then, lay with household boundaries that the missionaries could not regulate. Duncan and Turner were helpless to shield their private activities from indigenous eyes. In India as well, the "failure to regulate contact with Indian servants within the home meant that the behaviour of the British could be monitored by their subjects not only in public but also in private."[27] The mission's very walls were permeable: Mary, and her successor Ungnowya, passed information about the Anglican ministers to their fellow Tununermiut or to the Roman Catholic priests, from whence it spread through the settlement.[28] This betrayal of the confidential servant-master contract appalled the missionaries, and hardened their resolve to reject further domestic help after their first three years.

Although the missionaries demanded particular boundaries, they elided others. Anglicans were particularly susceptible to folding cultural and religious imperatives into a mélange of ritual injunctions. In Mittimatalik, Duncan and Turner took this tendency one step further. They seem to have expected their catechists, first David Sandy and then Abraham Akumalik, to double as domestic servants and exemplars of Englishness. Tensions arose between the missionaries and catechists, who both failed to understand

[24] Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces," in BodySpace, 128.
[25] See Appendix B for floor plans of the mission.
[26] Adam James Smith, "Making nowhere into somewhere: Living at close quarters on Shackleton's 'Farthest South' Expedition," Part II Architectural Tripos dissertation, 2002, 33.
[27] Collingham, Bodies, 104.
[28] Duncan, 17 Oct 1932, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 57.

each other's reasoning. The missionaries' initial failure to impose their will upon their household "servants" may have planted the seeds for later discord.

In 1928, Fleming had asked that Sandy, an experienced catechist from Kimmirut, accompany Duncan and Turner to Mittimatalik to teach them the language, assist in worship, and hunt for sustenance. Duncan was initially pleased at this prospect: "[W]e are looking forward to times of rich blessing as he joins with us in the work. He will be a great help to us in many ways."[29] However, Sandy displayed a "native" tendency to come late to work regularly throughout 1930 and 1931, judging by the frequency of comment in the missionaries' diaries. Globally, indigenous peoples have suffered under this accusation, which derives from the sixteenth-century British association of poverty with sloth. This discourse of idleness is actually a discourse of work, in which the pressure to work was actually pressure to alter indigenous habits of work.[30] Sandy lost his good reputation in the missionaries' eyes because the latter could not understand his conception of what good work entailed.

Other members of the missionaries' immediate circle caused problems. Duncan and Turner had brought Ben, a mixed-blood boy from Southampton Island (Sagliq), to live with them and assist their language efforts. While this arrangement was not unusual for missionaries,[31] it created a quasi-paternal relationship that could have serious ramifications, as at Mittimatalik. From the beginning of his stay, Ben displeased his adoptive fathers by spending most of his day away from the mission and even missing evening prayers. His behaviour was acceptable in Inuit culture, where children were ranked independent beings able to judge the consequences of their actions.[32] But the missionaries saw it as a breach of their spatial authority: they considered Ben's time better spent indoors in prayer and study.

Although Ben's disbehaviour usually warranted a harsh lecture, it occasionally provoked a smack with a slipper, a spanking, or a boxed ear.[33] These punishments, while completely acceptable within English society at that time, completely contradicted Inuit

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[29] Harold Duncan, "Off Baffin Land," The Missionary Messenger 7 (1929): 161.
[30] McClintock, Leather, 253.
[31] E.J. Peck had also "kept" a boy—see Lewis, Life and Work, 79—as had Julian Bilby and Archibald Fleming—see Fleming, Archibald, 65. Barbara Kelcey comments on this phenomenon generally in Alone, 44-45.
[32] See Russell Smandych and Anne McGillivray, "Images of Aboriginal Childhood: Contested Governance in the Canadian West to 1850," in Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850, eds. Rick Halpern and Martin Daunton (London: University College London Press, 1999) for a general discussion on historical conceptions of Aboriginal childhood.
[33] Harold Duncan, 21 January 1930, Diary January 1930 – 31 December 1930, np, MS 1576/1/1; Turner, 1 March and 16 July 1930, Diary 1928-30, np; Turner, 3 March 1931, Diary 1930-32, np.

cultural responses, which consisted of ridicule or embarrassment, not physical force.[34] Inuit considered physical violence repugnant as it symbolized a loss of *isuma*, or reason, that was only countenanced in the very young. Turner was fully aware of the Inuit view toward childrearing, but like most Europeans, considered it lax, irresponsible, and productive of slovenly morality.[35] It is almost certain that the missionaries' actions were known and condemned among Tununermiut, even if, as is common today, other families were too scared to remove the child from the situation.[36]

The missionaries had their most serious rupture with Abraham Akumalik, a catechist of some stature in the community. The historical evidence, though fragmentary, suggests that he had lived in the region since approximately 1920, when he had emigrated from Cumberland Sound. He had proselytized extensively near Mittimatalik and worked for the Hudson's Bay Company since the post had opened in 1921.[37] At first, he seems to have worked as a substitute catechist when Sandy took ill. Duncan and Turner praised his work: "Akoomalik is a great help to us, at this time. He is extremely eager to learn & all that he learns he is just as eager to pass on. He can of course, do the latter much better than we can."[38] Conflict only arises when he asks for employment in March 1930 after the Company ended his contract. Reports of his untruthfulness and hypocrisy spatter the pages of the missionaries' diaries soon afterwards.

At its root, the dissension was cultural. In nineteenth- and twentieth-century England, service was a universal concept that affected everyone, whether they paid

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[34] James R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 19.

[35] John Turner, Miscellaneous writing, n.d., np. HA204/6/5/4.

[36] Jean Briggs, ed., Interviewing Inuit Elders: 3. Childrearing Practices (Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College, 2000), 70. Latterly, the Tununermiut integrated some aspects of Euro-Canadian child discipline into their traditional practices. As early as 17 December 1931, Duncan recorded with surprise that "Akoomalik gave a short talk after prayers on the subjects of child discipline and 'spanking'!" (Diary 1931-32, np). In the early 1950s, Doug Wilkinson observed that "today some Eskimo parents do spank their children. It is a part of the changing attitudes of the group. Idlouk and his wife, who chastise their sons and daughters for doing wrong, have been criticized by other Eskimos who do not think this is right. Idlouk retaliated by quoting six different references in the New Testament to show that spanking of children is a good thing." Land of the Long Day (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1956), 236. Idlouk is Akumalik's son, so it could be argued that only that family had adopted these Euro-Canadian practices. However, Idlouk was already an independent adult at the time his parents went to work at the mission. This new approbation for physical punishment, hence, seems to have been emerging in the culture on the whole.

[37] For an example of Akumalik's earlier power in the community, see Munn, Prairie Trails, 247-49. It is not certain that the Akumalik who worked for the missionaries in the 1930s was the same as the Akumalik who had proselytized in the area in the 1920s. Duncan creates uncertainty by noting that in 1933, there were four men with that name in the Mittimatalik district (28 April 1933, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 199). As well, Gavin White believes that the 1920s Akumalik had left the district in 1921 for Qivituuq ("Scottish Traders to Baffin Island," Maritime History 5 (1971): 40). Yet the evidence is not conclusive either way. I believe that the 1930s Akumalik demonstrated enough religious knowledge and leadership that it is very probable that he was the 1920s proselytizer.

[38] Turner, 29 December 1929, Diary letter 1929-30, np.

obeisance to a master or mistress, a king or queen, or God himself. Domestically, servants were owed basic maintenance in return for loyalty and hard work. They were often treated familiarly as children, no matter their age.[39] By contrast, service was unknown in Inuit culture. Inuit prized the ability to make independent decisions based on their judgment of their needs and desires. When Akumalik traded pieces of information about the missionaries for goods or regard from other Euro-Canadians, he may have viewed his actions as neutral, whereas the missionaries would have classified them as betrayal. Finally, Akumalik must have been unable to bear such treatment. He ended his contract in October 1932 and left the settlement to resume a traditional lifestyle.

This long-standing relationship's destruction had serious consequences for both the missionaries and their Inuit congregation. The former felt stung, as they had put their trust in Akumalik and, moreover, had considered him a religious "first-fruit."[40] In response they erected further physical boundaries between themselves and the Inuit. Duncan recorded that "after our experiences with Akoomalik, we felt it was unwise to trust the people too implicitly, and decided to have everything under lock and key."[41] Additionally, the missionaries decided never to hire domestic help again. Both in action and in confidence, too many Inuit had breached their trust.

But some Inuit visitors who visited Mittimatalik after the incident also treated the missionaries coldly. "We have a few visitors in the camp at the moment," Turner wrote in December 1932. "Some are very annoyed with us for some reason & although they profess much love with their lips yet they make it their business to upset other people & turn them again us."[42] These people would have heard Akumalik's rendition of his treatment, which may have confirmed their suspicions about the missionary agenda. More Inuit were beginning to understand that the missionaries did not want control only over their religious lives, but over their everyday lives as well. Moreover, the settlement's other Euro-Canadians were facing the same challenge from the missionaries, despite being much closer in cultural affinity—on the surface.

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[39] Davidoff et al., Family Story, 161.
[40] Duncan, 1 October 1931, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[41] Duncan, 17 October 1932, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 59.
[42] John Turner, 4 December 1932, Diary letter 1932-33, 16. HA204/6/2/5.

II. The settlement: a secular Euro-Canadian representation of space

Although the land on which Mittimatalik rested had been shaped by natural and Inuit forces for thousands of years, the most pervasive influence in the early twentieth century had been that of trade. First independent traders, and then the Hudson's Bay Company established their posts on the choicest sites. They continued to control the distribution and use of settlement land well into the 1920s and 1930s. When the police arrived in 1922 and began searching for a suitable location on which to build their post, they discovered that "the best anchorages and building sites … had been purchased by Bernier and were now owned by Munn."[43] After canvassing the area thoroughly, they built their post directly east of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Trade's spatial hegemony remained when the missionaries arrived seven years later. Duncan, perhaps naïvely, believed that they had not had to consult anyone or sign any papers before commencing building work.[44] In fact, Bishop Anderson had asked the Company the previous year for permission to build the Anglican mission several hundred metres west of the settlement's preexisting buildings.[45] The Oblates built their mission between the old Company buildings and the new Anglican mission. In the process, the priests completed the spatial opposition between the secular buildings on the beach's east side and the sacred ones to the west.[46] However, in Mittimatalik, all paths, neatly bordered by whitewashed stones,[47] led to the Hudson's Bay Company—and not only geographically speaking.

Although the police and Company both employed natives and had traditionally paid them in goods from their respective personal stores, in 1932 the police detachment stores were replaced with accounts at the HBC, "raising questions in some minds as to who held the ultimate authority."[48] This local foreclosure on choice mirrored ongoing developments in the upper echelons of these organizations. Throughout the 1920s the Company had gained considerable political influence in the North, as the government agency in theory responsible for centralized control over the Territories had been

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[43] Grant, Justice, 138.
[44] Duncan, interview, tape 2.
[45] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 38.
[46] Photographs of the settlement's layout can be found in Appendix C.
[47] Wilkinson, Long Day, 142. Also see Appendix C.
[48] Grant, Justice, 234.

established quite late.[49] Thus, although the police commanded a certain spatial power by dint of the whitewashed stones spelling "RCMP" on the hill above Mittimatalik that faced incoming ships, the Company controlled the natives' economic livelihood and therefore held the balance of power in the settlement.

In contrast to the Company's spatial and practical power, the missionaries were physically and culturally marginal. To the police officers and traders, most of whom would have been no more than nominal Christians,[50] the lengths to which the missionaries went in their competition for souls was highly amusing. Ernie Lyall, who came to Mittimatalik as the Company interpreter in 1932, remembers, "[W]e used to crack jokes, the rest of us whites, about those guys. It's hard to believe but later on when I was in Pond Inlet, if there was one missionary visiting us and he'd see the other coming, he'd go out the back door before the other would come in the front door. It was really as bad as that."[51]

From their marginal positions, the missionaries spied on each other and tried to predict each other's movements.[52] Duncan often recorded the names of visitors to the Roman Catholic mission in his diary. One day he admitted his activities openly: "Feeling unfit for much: did a lot of spying, but not much else."[53] Prime Girard, the elder Catholic missionary, chose the tactic of open surveillance: "[E]very day he spends an hour or more promenading up and down in front of his house."[54] With both sets of missionaries so firmly opposed and unlikely to reconcile, it was perhaps inevitable that one group should befriend the Euro-Canadians more readily, and in Mittimatalik the Catholics did so.

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[49] David Damas, Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 32.

[50] In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I think it likely that the Euro-Canadian men shared the religious views of their generation: "Like many Canadians of the early twentieth century the young men held a general belief in God, thought that the Bible was a worthwhile book for moral guidance, approved of the church's role in their rites of passage, and venerated the image of a loving and suffering Christ. There was little reference in these beliefs to the supernatural." Marshall, Secularizing, 253. Although Montague notes that the RCMP member "must be a Christian young man, in his twenties, and must profess a religious belief and contribute to such" (Adventure, 12) it is likely that a basic profession of faith was all that was required of police officers. Even had the Euro-Canadians at Mittimatalik been practising Christians, evangelical Anglicanism required a rebirth of faith for one's salvation to be assured. The Euro-Canadians would have belonged to the category of "nominal" Christians who were considered unsaved by evangelical theology. See Ian M. Randall, "Old Time Power: Relationships between Pentecostalism and Evangelical Spirituality in England," PNEUMA 19 (1997): 69 for further elucidation of these concepts.

[51] Ernest Lyall, An Arctic Man: Sixty-Five Years in Canada's North (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1979), 69.

[52] I am wary of drawing specific conclusions about the Protestant-Roman Catholic contest in Mittimatalik because of my lack of access both to the Oblate papers and to secular, somewhat neutral Euro-Canadian accounts. My caution is sharpened by Terry Craig's comment that Anglican accounts "contrast noticeably with those of their competition in the Arctic, the Catholics." Lives, 15.

[53] Harold Duncan, 25 August 1934, Diary 1 January 1934 – 14 November 1934, np. MS1576/1/4.

[54] Duncan, 1 October 1931, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.

Friendship between French Roman Catholic priests and Anglo-Saxon Protestant traders and policemen occurred more commonly than one might have supposed, given their ideological differences.[55] At Mittimatalik, the three groups of men shared certain cultural values. Unlike the Protestants, who shunned "worldly" pursuits such as card-playing and alcohol-drinking, the Roman Catholic priests indulged in both those activities, especially the former, with the policemen and traders.[56] By contrast, most contacts between the Anglican missionaries and the secular Euro-Canadians involved talks about "higher things," although these discussions produced little result:

> I was thinking just now of the condition of the other white men: it does seem tragic that they are all living without any apparent desire for a higher life. Mr. [T.] and I were discussing that in one of our talks, but of course I can't prove by logic that I am happier than he: he merely comes back every time to the standpoint that he can't see things as I do, and there it is.[57]

The most enjoyable contact between the religious and secular Anglo-Saxons became their nights of physical activity in the mission's "gymnasium," or empty loft. The men would skip singly and box against each other most evenings in autumn 1932, and sporadically before and after this time.[58] By coming together on a physical rather than intellectual plane, the conflicts of settlement life were dissolved rather than strengthened. This release of tension enabled friendly conversation for days thereafter.

In addition to sharing certain cultural views, the policemen, traders, and Oblate fathers were all at ease with a relaxed way of life no doubt modelled on the Inuit lifestyle. Duncan noted that the Anglicans avoided visiting the police too often partly because visits stretched four to five hours and often included a meal.[59] While the missionaries valued time spent working—studying Inuktitut or reading Bible stories to children[60]—the police took a relaxed approach to their duties, which were non-urgent by comparison. Thus they had time to engage in a series of practical jokes against the traders and the Catholic priests, which were eagerly reciprocated.[61] By contrast, the Anglicans were seen as humourless, as evinced by Turner's response when his dogs accidentally consumed some of the mash from Girard's homemade wine. Turner tried to register a formal

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[55] See Choquette, Assault, 23-24 for several examples.
[56] Harold Duncan, interview with Wendy Arundale, 28 April 1989, tape 7.
[57] Duncan, 24 July 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[58] Harold Duncan, Diary 1 October 1932 – 31 December 1932, np. MC 1576/1/3.
[59] Duncan, interview, tape 3.
[60] Turner, 21 September 1930, Diary letter 1929-30, 2-3.
[61] Lyall, Arctic Man, 80-87.

complaint, but the police would not take him seriously.[62] Successful relationships in northern settlements required a good sense of humour, which the Anglicans, in everybody's estimation, lacked.

One matter on which Company traders and Catholic priests agreed was the validity of "country" marriages between Euro-Canadian men and indigenous women. Although these relations were not formally sanctioned before the 1770s, accounts of stable and mutually beneficial arrangements appear in fur trade journals after that time.[63] Anglican priests showed little tolerance for this arrangement.[64] Contrary to received wisdom, they were likely more upset by its extramarital rather than its miscegenated nature.[65] In the early twentieth-century North, while covert liaisons were permitted by police and Company hierarchies, actual marriage would bring immediate transfer from a post, if not discharge or dismissal altogether.[66] Meanwhile, the Inuit viewed these casual arrangements as perfectly acceptable. A couple living and procreating together were considered husband and wife by traditional standards.[67] Relationships with Euro-Canadian men were even desirable because they entailed a higher societal status and easier access to Euro-Canadian goods and knowledge. Moreover, the women had some power to initiate and terminate these relationships.[68]

Two cross-cultural liaisons came to Duncan's attention in 1931. Turner was at Pangnirtung (Panniqtuuq) that year, so Duncan was left to uphold Mittimatalik's morality single-handedly.[69] He had little impact on the first couple, the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter and an Inuit woman, who married at the Roman Catholic mission on 16 September. Four days later, the interpreter visited Duncan, but did not mention his

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[62] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 34.
[63] Smandych and McGillivray, "Images," 248.
[64] For nineteenth-century examples, see Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980), 142, 212-13; Choquette, Assault, 129.
[65] Jongeneel, Philosophy, 122; Christophers, Positioning, 60.
[66] For examples and further discussion, see George Comer, An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903-1905, ed. W. Gillies Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 151-52, f5; Coates, Flag, 150-52; Lyall, Arctic Man, 111, 118-19; Ronald Hyam, Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 95-98.
[67] Rolf Kjellstrom, Eskimo Marriage: An Account of Traditional Eskimo Courtship and Marriage (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1973), 22-23.
[68] Kelcey, Alone, 70, 88.
[69] In fact, Duncan and Turner only spent two of the first five years together at Mittimatalik. They came together in 1929-30, but Duncan returned to England in 1930-31 to operate on a hernia he had sustained pulling his *qamutiq* (sledge) over rough ice. When Duncan returned in 1931-32, Turner was sent that same year to Panniqtuuq to replace his brother, who was taking furlough that year. In 1932-33 they were together at Mittimatalik, and in 1933-34, Turner left on furlough to England. When he returned in 1934, Duncan went on furlough in 1934-35, but due to his poor physical health was never allowed to return to the Arctic.

marriage. Not until 3 October did the RCMP Corporal inform Duncan.[70] In his diaries, Duncan seems concerned principally with her loss to the Roman Catholics and its effect on her salvation. He also implies that she had not understood what Euro-Canadian marriage entailed. However, Duncan does not mention the matter again. Moreover, the interpreter seemed to take his family responsibilities seriously: he insisted on constructing the coffin for his wife's brother's daughter's adopted son when the child died in August 1932.[71]

In October 1931, the HBC post manager's liaison with one of his domestic workers revived community tensions. Duncan records that both were happy with the arrangement, but he suspected that she was being coerced into having intercourse. Although she gave him testimony that confirmed his fears, the police later informed Duncan that she had lied to him because she feared damnation. With his authority and credibility damaged, Duncan withdrew from the situation. However, Troup had a change of heart in late November and asked Duncan to wed him to the woman. He may have asked partly to assuage the other Company employees, who had been upset over the matter. Duncan called the ceremony a "farce": "The three men were all smoking and drinking port right up to the beginning of the service, and [one of the Euro-Canadian guests] behaved very badly during the service, giggling repeatedly."[72] Several months later, Duncan again clashed with the post manager over his wife's church attendance.[73]

Both these marriages had serious consequences for the men involved. When the Hudson's Bay Company ship arrived the following September, both men were transferred from Mittimatalik immediately and made to leave their wives behind. The District Manager "was decent about it, but said they couldn't 'stand for' that sort of thing. … He said further that [the post manager] seemed to realise he'd made a mess of things and had advised him to make a fresh start altogether."[74] Perhaps before knowing of the situation's outcome, Duncan had lodged a formal complaint with the RCMP, who informed the Department of the Interior and the Company's Northern Division. While the latter two

[70] Duncan, 16 September and 3 October 1931, Diary 16 August 1931 – 30 September 1932, np. In keeping with Harold Duncan's wishes that his diaries and letters should not be used to "directly or indirectly cause hurt or embarrassment to the individuals mentioned or their families" (Wendy Arundale, "The Rev. Harold Duncan Collection: Description of Archival Materials," July 1989, 1, SPRI Archives, 92 [Duncan, H.N.]), I have chosen not to reveal these men's names.
[71] Duncan, 19 August 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[72] Ibid., 24 July 1932, np.
[73] Ibid., np.
[74] Ibid., 9 September 1932, np.

agencies wanted Duncan to divorce the couple, Duncan wanted the Company to move the woman to the manager's new posting. Eventually, the government granted the divorce.[75]

Despite Duncan's failure to regulate morality, his actions had generated ill-will toward the Anglicans. In September 1932 he wrote, "I think all the white men will be careful not to tread on our toes unnecessarily this year: the sacking of [the manager and interpreter] will be a salutary warning to them, I think, and if it does that it will at least do some good here. All the same we are anything but popular—that is probably stating the case far too mildly!"[76] Events did not fall out as expected. Although there were no more reports of illicit liaisons, the traders and policemen subtly flouted the missionaries' authority in public, most noticeably through a refusal to observe the Sabbath. Turner observes on one Sunday in October that the police and traders were "having joy-rides on kumotiks this afternoon–very ostentatiously," and Duncan concurs that they were having "a rather obvious 'hit' at us."[77]

Moreover, the traders began to ask their employees to embark on weekend expeditions, although most Tununermiut were scrupulous in following Sabbatarianism. Once, when pressed to reconsider his position, the post manager fired the family involved. The missionaries ceased contact with the traders for a month afterwards.[78] The traders' responses demonstrate a shift in Euro-Canadian attitudes toward the Anglicans. At first their moral rectitude had been amusing. But when Duncan had invoked outside forces to curb "immorality," he had disrupted community power relations. After 1932, then, the Euro-Canadians could not provoke the missionaries directly, but they would subtly contradict Anglican beliefs to their Inuit employees and trading partners. The Anglicans neither possessed direct control over public opinion nor were able to argue their case subtly. Alone of the Euro-Canadians they were excluded from the highly-organized yet unofficial webs of knowledge conveyance in Mittimatalik. After October 1932, when Akumalik had left, the Anglican missionaries tightened their control over

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[75] Trott, "Mission and Opposition," 42. Unfortunately I have not had time to consult the relevant papers located at the Hudson's Bay Company archives and the Public Archives of Canada. However, from my close reading of Duncan's papers, I disagree with Trott's assessment that "Duncan 'resolved' the problem by marrying the young Inuk woman to the HBC man." Duncan makes it clear in his private and public correspondence that he was reluctant to marry the couple, but that Troup insisted on the marriage. Trott can be forgiven this interpretation, however, in that he had not been able to consult Duncan's papers before the writing of his article. Isabella Warren, personal communication, 2 June 2006.

[76] Duncan, 11 September 1932, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 8-9.

[77] John Turner, 30 October 1932, Diary 1932-33, np, HA204/6/1/3; Ibid., 30 October 1932, 67.

[78] Duncan, 20 June 1933, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 15-17.

bodies, and therefore knowledge, in and out of their fortress. As a result, they heard very little settlement and camp news and understood even less.

By contrast, each of the other Euro-Canadian agencies received valuable knowledge about Inuit affairs. Inuit visitors would stop first at the Company to buy supplies, and so the manager was often the first person to hear camp news, whether directly, from an Inuk, or indirectly, through overheard conversation.[79] Visitors would also call on the police to give a formal account of camp activities. However, police would often "freely gossip with their visitors about … the idiosyncrasies of their fellow Euro-Canadians."[80] Because the policemen, being more trustworthy than Inuit in Anglican eyes, still had access to knowledge about the missionaries, they could trade such nuggets for more detailed Inuit knowledge than a formal report provided. Finally, the Catholic priests heard more Inuit gossip than anyone else in the settlement. Duncan was aware of this situation, but ascribes it to the priests' "cross-questioning" of their visitors.[81] However, it may also have been that Girard, the longest serving Catholic missionary in the eastern Arctic, inspired their confidences as a man who understood and appreciated the Inuit lifestyle as Turner and Duncan could not.

The missionaries were dismissive of, even despairing about the "Eskimo wireless" system.[82] "It doesn't at all do to believe an appreciable proportion of all that you hear in the North—my short experience, such as it is, leaves me aghast at the way criticism, gossip, rumour and slander fly about," Duncan wrote in 1932.[83] Yet in failing to engage critically with this unfamiliar knowledge system, they failed to appreciate its advantages. A driving force in Inuit culture was fear, especially of the unknown. Shamans were powerful precisely because they *knew* which rituals would save people from harm if taboos were broken.[84] Hence, "knowledge and truth [were] not an individual matter so much as a corporate possession."[85] When making decisions, Inuit drew on their knowledge of similar past situations that could be used to predict the consequences of

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[79] Matthiasson, Living, 103-04.
[80] Ibid., 88.
[81] Duncan, 17 Oct 1932, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 57.
[82] Harwood Steele, Policing the Arctic: The Story of the Conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (formerly North-West) Mounted Police (London: Jarrolds, 1936), 229.
[83] Duncan, 2 April 1932, Diary letter 1 October 1931, np.
[84] Grant, Justice, 237.
[85] James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 14. Axtell is referring to North American Indian culture, but his statement applies equally well to the Inuit.

certain choices.[86] This scheme governed their interactions with *qallunaat* as with the physical environment, and so the more information that could be collected on *qallunaat*, the better. Moreover, gossiping about others helped to release built-up tensions within Inuit family groups. According to Jean Briggs, "outsiders were merely scapegoats for the release of hostility that had built up in the course of day to day living, regardless of the original cause of the anger." Sometimes, she reported, the Inuit were embarrassed when she took their slander too seriously.[87]

Yet these observations were all made by later scholars. Duncan and Turner would not have been as understanding of the purposes of Inuit information conveyance. Their main concern was that Inuit gathered information about what the missionaries disliked about Inuit behaviour so that they could avoid certain behaviours around them. The missionaries regarded this behaviour as duplicitous and hypocritical: "Grown ups & even children join together in this great society to cover up sin from the missionary," Turner sermonized when back in England.[88] In Inuit culture, however, evasion was an acceptable means toward the end of causing no offense to others. These two cultural views were unlikely to be reconciled immediately. Moreover, the missionaries may also have feared the unknown, as indigenous gossip had that effect in many colonial situations. Its indeterminacy and power to circulate quickly endowed it with characteristics of a new, particularly lethal and contagious disease.[89] Since the missionaries agonized about material contagion, they may have feared ideological contamination too.

Finally, gossip represents the historical moment where indigenous knowledge based on contact with the colonizer is *coming into being*:

> Rebel agency … [is] the contingent relation to the time-lag or temporal break in between sign and symbol, constitutive of the representation of the intersubjective, the collective realm of meaning and action. … This is the space of cultural and interpretive undecidability that is being produced in the 'present' of the colonial moment.[90]

The Inuit were coming to judge the Anglican missionaries on the basis of several years' experience. In some respects, the latter were found wanting. Therefore, rather than continue interacting with people who were unlikely to adopt Inuit mores, some Inuit may

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[86] Fossett, Untroubled, 199.
[87] Briggs, Never in Anger, 184.
[88] Turner, Miscellaneous writings, n.d.
[89] Homi Bhabha, "In a Spirit of Calm Violence," in After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 334.
[90] Ibid., 336-37.

have chosen to decrease contact by reentering a space of their own making and control: the land.

III. The land: an Inuit representation of space

Qallunaat who spent years in the North slowly came to understand that Inuit thought little of their Euro-Canadian knowledge and skills. Jim Kilabik, an elder from Panniqtuuq, described his family's contact with one whaling captain: "He had spent almost ten years of his life with the Eskimos by the time World War I was on. … In winter he would go out with the Eskimo men to hunt for his food. Every year he was taught by the Eskimos how to keep alive until it was safe again to go back to his homeland."[91] In a twist on the well-known colonial formula, Inuit considered *qallunaat* no more capable than children—particularly slow children, at that, who could not learn "proper" behaviour even after numerous instances of teaching.

Turner and Duncan had undoubtedly received some "lessons," as their diaries reflect several repeated actions that the Inuit may have disliked. The missionaries scolded their parishioners, adults and children alike. Inuit frown upon *hauq*ing or scolding behaviour because it makes other people unhappy, annoyed, and sometimes frightened.[92] As well, the missionaries did not share their *qallunaat* foods and goods freely, but instead expected services or items in trade. Moreover, they became angry when Akumalik, Ungnowya, or Ben distributed their food to other Inuit families. Stinginess is one of the worst character flaws in Inuit culture.[93] Duncan and Turner both showed signs of aggressiveness, not least when disciplining Ben. Jean Briggs relates that Inuit "define unkindness and bad temper more broadly than we do, and condemn it far more stringently, with the result that bad temper and aggressiveness are two of the first

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[91] Stories from Pangnirtung (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1976), 34.
[92] Briggs, Never in Anger, 330.
[93] The discourse on sharing and reciprocity in Inuit culture is vast and cannot be fully treated here. To the untrained Euro-Canadian eye, Inuit appeared to share their food and tools completely freely. Fleming called them "communists of the finest type." Dwellers in the Arctic Night (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1928), 19. Scholars have since argued that unlimited sharing would have caused death or permanent disability for all involved during times of starvation. Renee Fossett notes that elders "did not prescribe sharing outside the familial and communal groups. On the contrary, open-handedness beyond the local community was proscribed by assigning unrelated people to the category of 'strangers' and requiring that they be treated with aloofness. Within the limits of coresidential kin groups, refusal to share was seen as a threat to the internal security of Inuit communities. Outside these limits, willingness to share was recognized as an equally serious danger. Both sides of the sharing dilemma were institutionalized in Inuit law." Untouched, 206. For examples of how the concept of "Christian charity" impacted traditional sharing practices, see Stevenson, Inuit, Whalers, 129-30 and Kelcey, Alone, 120.

qualities that they notice about us."[94] Lastly, the missionaries had sought to establish moral and cultural dominance over their parishioners, rather than allowing them to assess their individual needs and desires. All of these behaviours were unacceptable by Inuit norms.

Neither the missionaries nor the Inuit had been able to cross the cultural barrier effectively. For their part, the missionaries, in a move termed "white missionary privilege," had interlaced their Christian dogma with secular values such as cleanliness, thrift, and honesty.[95] To become Christians in Duncan's and Turner's eyes, the Inuit would have had to adopt these English behaviours as well. Yet if Homi Bhabha is correct, even if the Inuit had chosen to behave as Englishmen, they would have struggled under the curse of "mimicry": the fate of colonized peoples who are "almost the same but not white."[96] This prior determination of status renders them mere "mimic men obliged to inhabit an uninhabitable zone of ambivalence that grants them neither identity nor difference."[97] In 1929, the Tununermiut may have assumed that they needed to follow the missionaries' instructions precisely to obtain both eternal salvation and protection from Euro-Canadian laws. Yet the missionaries too came to provoke both Inuit *ilira* and contempt through their contrasting inability to understand Inuit norms. As Duncan and Turner attempted to control their increasingly small zone of influence in Mittimatalik, their former helpers and adherents, notably Akumalik, may have responded through escape.

Across societies and time periods, avoidance has been "the preferred and most frequently adopted means of resisting oppression and expressing dissatisfaction."[98] Subaltern groups use avoidance firstly to defend themselves against the excessive demands of dominant groups, and secondly to remonstrate against their exploitation without directly confronting their oppressors.[99] Directly before leaving Mittimatalik, Akumalik unsuccessfully tried to complain to the police about his treatment at the mission. He waited until the last moment to avoid conflict with Duncan or Turner. However, the corporal refused to take him seriously.[100] Lacking any other means of

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[94] Briggs, Never in Anger, 328-39.
[95] Bonnie Sue Lewis, "The Dynamics and Dismantling of White Missionary Privilege," Missiology 32 (2004): 44.
[96] Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994), 89.
[97] McClintock, Leather, 63.
[98] Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," in Colonialism and Culture, 90.
[99] Michael Adas, "Comment," in Colonialism and Culture, 131.
[100] Duncan, 21 November 1932, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 94-95.

protest, Akumalik's best recourse may have been to remove himself from spaces controlled by Euro-Canadians and Anglicans to a space of his own making.

Inuit space is ordered along different planes of reference than Euro-Canadian northern space. "Within each territory," Hugh Brody writes, "are camps, cabins and old village sites that constitute another level of residency that belies the isolation of little communities separated by vast tracts of seeming wilderness."[101] By using the land's ancestral paths and camps, Inuit are the latest link in a living tradition thousands of years old. Moreover, in the 1930s, the land was still largely free of *qallunaat* surveillance. Aside from an occasional police patrol, and that always guided by Inuit, no Euro-Canadian ventured far from the settlements.

Police accepted their dependence matter-of-factly, for they could not build a snow house, light an oil lamp, dry out wet clothing, repair *qamutiq* runners, or hunt sufficiently to feed both people and dogs—all skills which were necessary to survive on the land. The Inuit viewed the police as juveniles: "They were just like kids. When they were having tea outside and they weren't able to grasp the cup with their hands, the cup would be held for them exactly like children, because they were from a warm climate."[102] Although police often gained travelling competency, they were still "a bit clumsy because they were *qallunaat*—because they were not used to this kind of activity."[103] It is implied that the police's Euro-Canadian blood would bar them from ever achieving full competency. This assessment conveniently leaves endless temporal scope for Inuit control of *qallunaat* movement on their land. Turner, however, challenged that conclusion, as well as the space in which it had been formed.

Diary evidence demonstrates that Turner had been planning journeys as early as November 1929.[104] However, his and Duncan's limited linguistic and practical skills delayed his embarkation for several years. Although Turner viewed a peripatetic ministry as inevitable, historically it had been Catholics who had favoured such methods. Jesuits in seventeenth-century New France had been itinerant pioneers: they had lived with the Eastern Woodlands natives for the autumn, winter, and spring, and only returned to settlements in the summer to report their progress to their societies. Anglican missionaries had traditionally been reluctant to undertake travelling ministry, except in areas of fierce

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[101] Hugh Brody, Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 88.
[102] Grant, Justice, 232.
[103] Ibid., 232.
[104] Turner, 1 November 1929, Diary 1928-30, np.

religious competition, such as the late-nineteenth-century Mackenzie River valley.[105] Such a case, however, also prevailed at Mittimatalik. In 1931, Father Étienne Bazin, Girard's fellow missionary, had established a permanent mission outpost near Igloolik. This strike into new territory concerned both Turner and Duncan, but only the former was able and willing to counter it directly.

Although both men's private diaries attest to amity during their years together at Mittimatalik, Turner and Duncan still disputed some matters. Turner became impatient with the lack of religious success in the settlement, and ascribed the failure of their ministry to the Euro-Canadians' negative influence. He believed, correspondingly, that the Inuit on the land who had had less exposure to Euro-Canadian culture would receive God more readily. In these sentiments, Turner can be compared to missionaries such as David Livingstone, who yearned for new territories to escape the painstakingly slow work of conversion in one location.[106] Duncan never shared these feelings. Prone to health complaints and blind without his glasses, he was not a natural Arctic traveller, and would have preferred to send catechists to the camps instead of travelling himself.[107] But Turner was intractable. "It isn't much use discussing the matter with Jack, because he always takes up the position that I am not qualified to judge, because I haven't travelled," Duncan wrote.[108]

Initially, Turner appeared just as likely to be a poor traveller. In a talk he gave during his 1939 furlough, he named Sir John Franklin "one of the finest heros [sic] of the North."[109] This allusion is inauspicious to any who know of Franklin's inability to utilize Inuit methods of northern travel. Additionally, Turner had a "mania" (his word) for polar exploration literature. He devoured accounts by Robert Scott, James Ross, Adolphus Greeley, Knud Rasmussen, Elisha Kane, and Leopold McClintock in the 1931-32 winter alone. Turner's identification with these heroic men could have been a dangerous harbinger. Such *qallunaat* often disagreed with their Inuit guides and ran into trouble accordingly. For example, in 1913, Alfred Tremblay had attempted travel to an abandoned camp in hopes of locating a cache. Guided by an Inuk and his wife, Tremblay had brought only one *qamutiq* and minimal food in order to travel quickly, but ran into

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[105] See a fuller account in Frank A. Peake, "From the Red River to the Arctic: essays on Anglican missionary expansion in the nineteenth century," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 31 (1989): 1-147.
[106] Porter, Religion versus empire?, 184.
[107] Duncan, 20 August 1933, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 65-67.
[108] Ibid., 65-66.
[109] Turner, Miscellaneous writings, n.d.

poor weather and bad hunting. Tremblay then forced his guide to continue to the point where the latter nearly drove them through thin ice from exhaustion. Upright but decimated, they arrived safely at Igloolik. Tremblay insisted that if he had allowed the Inuit their way, everyone would have perished.[110]

Turner exhibited similarly imperious behaviour on his first long trip outside Mittimatalik in March 1930. On the twentieth, he wrote, "Kidlapik stops a great deal looking at the ice and I tell him and Sandy that I want to get on and they all seem offended at this." Nearly a month later, he noted that "Sandy very trying owing to feeling tired so I have to drive most of the night."[111] Two years later, on another trip with a new guide, he recorded, "I am now troubled with my man. He wants to get home …. He is all for returning that way & bringing all sorts of objections to going on."[112] Despite praying for the "right" guide for each trip, Turner continually finds fault with them. In May 1932 he and his fellow missionary at Panniqtuuq, George Nicholson, determined to become completely independent:

> We have both found by experience that it is far better for our work if we do not have to rely on natives. One of the troubles is that these natives very soon begin to get out of hand & it is necessary to be constantly keeping them up to standard. This they take with rather bad grace & make it difficult for you at the camps you visit & greatly hinder the effect of your message by prejudicing the folk against you. We have both found this repeatedly the case. The only alternative of course, is to allow the Native to have is [sic] own way entirely. That is undoubtly [sic] the wrong thing to do although it is by far the most pleasant & easy.[113]

At each camp, Turner's Inuit guide would have reported Turner's risky behaviour, so, unsurprisingly, the Inuit responded indifferently to his religious message. His actions had proved him *aqittungajuq*, "someone who does not have much sense,"[114] and therefore someone not worth heeding. Yet the Inuit did not turn away from Christianity altogether in the camps. They continued their worship as they had before the missionaries arrived, with accommodation to the latter's entrance into their lives: "When a missionary would come, either Anglican, or Roman Catholic, we would pray with him. But when there was no missionary, somebody who could read better than any other in the camp would read and another one could sing better than any other in the camp would sing Hymns [sic]

[110] Tremblay, Minnie Maud, 175-98.
[111] Turner, 20 March and 18 April 1930, Diary 1928-30, np.
[112] Turner, 15 March 1932, Diary letter 1931-32, 34.
[113] Turner, 1 May 1932, Diary letter 1931-32, 46-47.
[114] Jarich Oosten et al., Interviewing Inuit Elders: 2. Perspectives on Traditional Law (Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999), 233.

songs."[115] On the land, the Inuit were empowered to choose religious representatives who would take their values and wishes into account. They had not rejected Christianity, merely the Anglican representation of and control over it.

Yet Turner persisted in his independence, and eventually earned Inuit respect for his hardiness. The Inuit of Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk) in the 1980s were still impressed "that Turner was competent in living off the land and in the same lifestyle as they themselves. No other white had done this and it was this skill that kept his memory alive."[116] By crossing that cultural threshold, Turner had greatly lessened the distance between himself and his congregants. One serious obstacle to missionary work is that "missionaries occupied a position of strength in which they were seldom compelled to make more than slight concessions to Indian taste, and were almost never challenged to discriminate between essential and expendable elements of traditional Christianity."[117] Beginning in 1932, Turner left his Englishness behind and brought only his religion to Inuit camps. He lived an Inuit life for as much of the year as he could safely travel. By severing himself from Inuit dependence, he became an adult and an equal in their eyes, and perhaps they may have come to reconsider his message's validity. The outcome of this encounter between the missionaries and the Inuit, and the ramifications of this contact with each other, remains to be discussed in the last chapter.

[115] Laugrand, Mourir, 348.
[116] Trott, "The rapture," 215.
[117] John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 261.

Chapter Four: The Aftermath

> I must be very dense. I read what it says here, I know what I read, yet how often I cannot understand it. But no matter, I believe, and that is what is important.
>
> Joseph Idlouk, 1950s[1]

> Primitive people cannot cope very easily with all that they have to cope with today. But God is able not only to save but to keep.
>
> Harold Duncan, 1980s[2]

Thus far, this dissertation has examined the cultural influences exercised upon the Anglican missionaries and the Tununermiut prior to their meeting and the responses that acculturation provoked when they met as Christians on a supposedly common religious ground. Some scholarship would suggest that, *contra* to the racist rhetoric espoused by secular Euro-Canadian agencies, Duncan and Turner would have treated the Inuit as equal members of a worldwide Christian communion. To missionaries, the distinction between white and Native or Western and non-Westerner did not matter as much as that between Christians and non-Christians. Yet although many Tununermiut had been baptized by 1929, their demonstrations of faith were either invisible to Western eyes or intertwined with so many "immoral" actions that Duncan and Turner could not accept their claim to Christian status. Instead, they concluded that the Inuit were "nominal Christians" with souls in need of salvation.[3] The accruing of these souls "was an almost unintelligible concept to those not counting, and perhaps even intangible for those who were."[4] Hence Duncan and Turner framed this battle in quasi-colonial language of spatial and temporal domination. Such language, however, claimed a different derivative: the Bible, which is a colonizing text in that it asserts its message's truth to the exclusion of all else.[5]

Meanwhile, even following regular instruction and church attendance, many Tununermiut were still unable to comprehend Biblical maxims, as Idlouk's statement exemplifies. The missionaries' rule-based system, though initially welcome for its controlling and protective nature, had proved only somewhat useful in that the

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[1] Wilkinson, Long Day, 240.
[2] Duncan, interview, tape 13.
[3] Duncan, 15 January 1933, Diary letter 9 September 1932, 137. Also see Chapter 3, f50.
[4] Kelcey, Alone, 137.
[5] Adele Reinhartz, "The Colonizer as Colonized: Intertextual Dialogue Between the Gospel of John and Canadian Identity," in John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power, eds. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley (London: Continuum, 2002), 181.

missionaries had failed to convey why certain actions were essential while others were condemned. Therefore, Mittimatalik Christianity after 1934 demonstrated three separate influences: the indirectly conveyed early twentieth-century Christianity that had suffused north from south Baffin, the first directly conveyed missionary instruction of the 1930s, and the reintegration of traditional beliefs into Inuit Christian practices. In such a way did Inuit invest Judeo-Christian symbols with different meaning and invent the significance of Christianity for themselves.

I. Christians and the (br)other

Many British imperial scholars considering missionaries' place in Empire treat the latter group's imperial sympathies "as self-evident and even as self-conscious."[6] Yet those who situate missionaries primarily in a religious and theological context argue that Christianity affords a strong footing for egalitarian cross-cultural negotiation. Empire was too small a concept for Christians to accept: it was bounded spatially by the limits of British military and administrative might, and temporally by the rate of, and desire for, British territorial expansion. By contrast, Christ's death had ensured salvation for all nations and all times. Moreover, missionaries envisioned colonialism not as "the establishment of a fixed hierarchical relationship but a process of conversion."[7] They desired transformation, not subjugation, for "unenlightened" peoples.[8] Consequently, missionaries believed that disparate nations exemplified the "difference within sameness" of humanity. Although the historical unity of humanity had been fractured by sin, through reception of God's Word, wayward nations could return to the corps. The Other was merely a temporary rupture within the larger body of sameness.[9]

This inclusive view contradicted the colonial discourses that had been developing since the eighteenth century. The process of Othering the colonized dated to that time; colonial officials denied indigenous people power and agency by consigning them spatially to the margins and temporally to the past. Sailing from England to the Pacific was seen as travelling backward in time to a more primitive era. This careful spatial and temporal separation of native and European bodies was augmented after the 1840s by

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[6] Cox, "Master Narratives," 12-13.
[7] Nicholas Thomas, "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda," Comparative Studies in Society and History 34 (1992): 385.
[8] Christophers, Positioning, 21.
[9] Ibid., 30-31.

new racial and evolutionary theories. Proof had appeared not only of the primitivity of the subaltern, but also of an essential blood-and-bone-based difference. Humans of different races could not be viewed as equal.

On the surface, Christian missionaries did not adopt this discourse. Yet evidence from Mittimatalik and other Arctic missions suggests otherwise. In fact, by the mid-1930s, Duncan and Turner considered themselves spatially and temporally apart from their potential converts. Sedimentation of the boundaries between mission house, settlement, and the land had occurred, to some extent. The missionaries had come to acknowledge their lack of access to and leverage over Inuit religious commitment, even after several years living among the Inuit and ministering to them daily. Again, the missionaries' failure to apprehend Inuit Christianity has spatial and temporal dimensions. Spatially, the missionaries' limited travels—Duncan travelled very little; and Turner had only begun to learn the fundamentals of travel over long distances—limited their knowledge of the strong Inuit Christian tradition on the land. Temporally, as well, they had arrived too late to introduce the Inuit to Christianity, and could not gain power as the sole arbiter of that information. Duncan's and Turner's powerlessness was evident by 1934, and they may have sought renewed influence by recourse to colonial discourses.

Particular spatial and temporal constructs came into play here, as well. The last chapter considered the concrete effects of space in missionizing. In Mittimatalik, spatiality had more concrete effect than in other Orientalist projects, where a primarily "imaginative geography" intensified and dramatized the distance between different cultures. By contrast, the distances between the cultures were very real in the North. The barriers between different geographies could be more imaginative than real, as in the mission house and the settlement. But the tangible differences between Euro-Canadian and Inuit ways of life were so stark as to exaggerate, not reduce, spatial disparity.

One should also consider the impact of temporality upon Arctic Anglican missions. Johannes Fabien has discussed temporality in relation to anthropological fieldwork, and has identified "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse."[10] Subsequently, Fabien applied his insights to colonialism, as did other scholars. Anne McClintock created the idea of "anachronistic time," wherein "colonized people … do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the

[10] Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 31.

geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency—the living embodiment of the archaic 'primitive.'"[11]

Such views are easily locatable within the texts of Arctic missionaries. Archibald Fleming compares the Inuit directly to his ancestors:

> When I saw the family squatting on the skin-covered sleeping bench at mealtime pulling and tearing at the raw flesh of a recently killed seal, the blood oozing out between their fingers and dripping from their hands and chin, I felt nauseated and repelled beyond measure. Yet I asked myself, Was this not the way our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in Britain ate only a few centuries ago? They, like my Eskimo friends, had to wage a perpetual war with nature, with wildlife and with enemies known and unknown.[12]

Moreover, the assignation of childlike status to adult Inuit also contradicts their temporal maturity. Turner, roughing out notes for a talk, notes, "the old Adam just the same in the Eskimo. Like spoilt schoolboys. Lie to escape trouble."[13] The frequency with which authors characterize Inuit as happy-go-lucky, carefree, or improvident subtly confirms this discourse, for all these traits equate to immaturity in Western culture.[14] Missionaries contested the Inuit view of the future as well as the past. Many Anglican missionaries, including Duncan and Turner, believed fervently in the Second Coming's approach. Time was of the essence in conversion. The Inuit "watch and wait" attitude, which involved thoughtful and lengthy consideration, must have frustrated them. In sum, Mittimatalik evidence suggests that, contrary to a certain Christian discourse of equality, the missionaries viewed the Inuit through colonial lenses in their spatial and temporal characterizations of Arctic life.

Yet Christianity, particularly Scriptural authority, is inseparable from and, indeed, partly implicated in this worldview of domination. Andrew Porter reminds scholars that "missionaries viewed their world first of all with the eye of faith and then through theological lenses."[15] Given the proclivities of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, the credo of which proclaims "Scripture is the unerring Revelation of God, the one Rule of Faith and the final Court of Appeal,"[16] their missionaries Duncan and Turner would have been especially prone to make such connections. Indeed, when Turner

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[11] McClintock, Leather, 30.
[12] Fleming, Archibald, 176.
[13] Turner, Miscellaneous writings, n.d.
[14] For an Anglican example, see Duncan, interview, tape 13; for a Catholic example, see Remie and Oosten, "Birth," 111. In Inuit culture, conversely, it was considered improvident to store up one's goods. See Briggs, Never in Anger, 361.
[15] Porter, Religion versus empire?, 11.
[16] Hooton and Wright, First Twenty-Five Years, 220.

travelled the Christian speaking circuit during his 1939 furlough, he conceptualized the Arctic mission in terms of inevitable spatial and temporal Christian hegemony. Biblical references to the North and to snow seemed to forecast the triumph of Christianity in the Arctic.

Other Anglican missionaries believed in the inevitable encroachment of Christianity upon northerly lands. In one book, Archbishop Fleming asks rhetorically, "Have you ever noticed the constant tendency in missions to go in the northerly direction?" He then lists a series of northerly missionary efforts—Jesus from Judaea to Galilee, Peter from Joppa to Caesarea, Paul from southern Asia Minor to Macedonia, and missionaries from the Mediterranean to Glastonbury, England—and thus posits a continuous tide, instigated by Christ, of Christianity flowing to the world's northern boundary.[17] Secular narratives of progress also seemed to push ever northerly, as Vilhjalmur Stefansson's book The Northward Course of Empire (1922) indicates.

This historical movement is bolstered by Scriptural assent and necessity. Two verses in particular encourage certainty—Isaiah 43:6, "I will say to the North, give up," and Luke 13:29, "They shall come from the North and sit down" (KJB). Framed commandingly, these words offer no alternative to Christian hegemony. Moreover, the verses had already gained a certain spatial control. Young girls in a Shanghai mission had learned of Turner's Arctic mission and prayed for his success using the Isaiah verse.[18] Yet victory seemed distant, according to Turner: "The North is not anxious to give up. The whole world lieth in wickedness or 'in the embrace of the wicked one' & we find to our grief that souls are not easily won there in the far North. Sin is …. [a] great blot on a white background."[19]

Turner also implicates the northern landscape in his vision of a Christian North. Before Christianization, the snow's purity contrasts with Inuit wickedness, and Inuit are separate from the land because of their sin. However, once the land has been Christianized, the environment will be their ultimate salvation: the snow itself will purify the people. In one sermon, Turner explains that of the 25 Biblical references, most involve cleansing. Job 9:30 says, "[I] wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so clean." Psalm 51:7 agrees, "[W]ash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." Turner then connects these abstract referents to concrete Inuit life: "How pure & white the inside

[17] Fleming, Dwellers, 162-63.
[18] Turner, Miscellaneous writings, n.d.
[19] Ibid.

of a new snow house looks! … Is there anything whiter than snow? If the heart, cleansed from sin, is whiter than the inside of a new snow house, no wonder the light of God's spirit makes it a cheerful place!"[20]

Yet he disconnects the producer from the product. Inuit, in his view, have not yet truly converted in their hearts, and so the sacred aspect of their homeland is a gift from God, not a reflection of its inhabitants. Indeed, Turner locates Inuit in Scripture at Job 38:22: "Has thou entered into the treasures of the snow?" These treasures are Inuit souls that have not yet been won, since Inuit cannot attain salvation through their environment by themselves. Only through the intervention of God and his servant, the missionary, could they become Christian, and only then would the Inuit be fitting inhabitants of their pure land. In this worldview, Christian spatial and temporal conquest of the North is predestined, desirable, and unquestionable.

II. Tununermiut Christianity, post-1934

Yet Tununermiut had already begun to question this worldview, as the previous chapter demonstrates. They had wanted a missionary to explain Christianity's rules so that they could function properly in an increasingly Euro-Canadian-dominated environment. But they soon discovered that the missionaries could define right and wrong behaviours, but could not always define why those things were so. Accordingly, the Tununermiut appended some of the missionaries' strictures to their pre-existing early-twentieth-century Christian ablutions. Over the succeeding decades, some Tununermiut would legitimate their views through theological training, whereas others would integrate elements of traditional belief into their Christianities. Through all these routes, Tununermiut continued to develop their conception of Christianity over the twentieth century. In the process, their community became known as particularly devout.

From the 1930s to the 1950s, Tununermiut continued to observe Arctic Christianity's earliest practices from the turn of the century while travelling on the land. Some predated the missionaries' arrival in Mittimatalik. The acquisition of prayer books and Bibles for every family member persisted, to the point in the 1950s where it became necessary to add another dog to a Christian family's dogteam to haul the extra 25-30

[20] Ibid.

pounds of paper weight.[21] Explorers had noted that the earliest Christians were sometimes less interested in reading their Bibles than in counting their pages carefully or using them as healing talismans.[22] Innovative uses of Scripture multiplied over the years. One woman, when unable to find a babysitter, would place her child carefully atop an open Bible instead, as her mother had taught her.[23]

Other strict observances of custom in these years, such as Sabbatarianism, came directly from missionary instruction. In this practice's infancy, some Inuit did not understand the ministers' rationale. Apphia Agalakti Awa remembers one wintry Sunday where they had to stop although they had no fuel for their *qulliq* (lamp) and no matches, and thus no tea, heat, or water. She was "really mad at the people who told us that we weren't supposed to travel. Just because it was Sunday, I almost died of thirst."[24] Yet Euro-Canadians travelling with Inuit families in the 1950s and 1960s were often less devout in this matter than their hosts. Doug Wilkinson recalls having to camp for thirty-six hours because "the missionary had apparently convinced the Eskimos that to hibernate on Sunday was a prerequisite for admittance to heaven."[25] When the Inuit family into which John Matthiasson was adopted was close to starvation, Matthiasson suggested a Sunday hunt, only to be told that action would necessitate his return to Mittimatalik.[26]

Furthermore, Matthiasson's observations of the interaction between the Anglican mission and the Mittimatalikmiut in 1963 reveal a similar pattern to that of thirty years prior. The missionary and his wife offered daily activities to keep the people focused on God. As a result, "there seemed to be a never-ending of procession of women walking back and forth to the mission, prayer books in hand with children clutching the tails of their mothers' parkas or warm inside the inner hoods on their backs."[27] Church services on Sundays and Wednesdays were well attended. Yet events of which the missionaries disapproved, such as dances, continued to draw their parishioners.[28] Inuit in 1963, as in 1933, listened to the missionaries only when it suited their desires.

In 1963, although most Tununermiut retained at least a vestigial tie to Anglican fundamentalist beliefs, certain men were committed so fully to them that they sought

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[21] Wilkinson, Long Day, 110.
[22] Morice, Thawing, 157.
[23] Briggs, ed., Childrearing, 83.
[24] Nancy Wachowich, Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 30-31.
[25] Wilkinson, Long Day, 191.
[26] Matthiasson, Living, 86.
[27] Ibid., 114.
[28] Ibid., 115.

training at Panniqtuuq's Anglican seminary. In 1973, Matthiasson noted that Noah Nahook and Jimmy Muckpah had trained as ministers and had their own parishes, while several other young men were in the midst of their training. Matthiasson noted that the men who seemed strongest in faith were those who had struggled with the community's secular changes. He suggested that their religious involvement "represented one form of Tununermiut efforts to preserve elements of the contact-traditional period in a time of rapid change."[29]

While some men sought further entrenchment in Anglicanism, others chose to reintegrate traditional behaviours into their worship. Inuk-led prayer meetings, where men gave testimonies and prayed aloud for hunting success and good family health, were common in the camps.[30] This practice, more redolent of Pentecostal than Anglican practice, also suggested the reemergence of traditional forms of worship. No matter which tendencies individuals evinced in their personal faiths, Mittimatalik was united under a solidly religious banner. The community's religious reputation was already well-established in the 1960s. When Hugh Brody was involved in the making of a film about life in 1970s Mittimatalik, the consulting elder, Simon Anaviapik, told him to excise a shot of worship in the Anglican church. Anaviapik said that southern Canadians already knew that Inuit were Christians.[31]

In the 1980s and 1990s, Mittimatalik Christianity continued its multifaceted development. Many elderly residents would not discuss pre-Christian traditions. Their reticence reflected the influence of early missionaries, who had labelled traditional Inuit spirits devils. The elders' strong Christianity and that of their children had led to the training of more Inuk ministers, to the point where, in the late 1980s, more than half of the Diocese of the Arctic's clergy were indigenous.[32] Most native clergy came from areas where BCMS missionaries had laboured, and testify to the missionaries' eventual success in some areas.

However, many other Mittimatalik Christians had begun to define their faith less in Anglican terms and more in those of devout revivalism. Services of the latter kind featured intense group prayer, involuntary speech and movements, and the calling-down of God's grace to heal physical or emotional scars. Indeed, on 28 February 1999, those

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[29] Ibid., 149.
[30] Ibid., 114.
[31] Brody, Other Side, 96.
[32] Duncan, interview, tape 13.

present at a service witnessed what they believed to be a visitation of the Holy Spirit.[33] This intense Christian faith is not uncommon in the Eastern Arctic in recent years, but Mittimatalik continues to receive acclamation as a particularly fervent Christian centre. By contrast, some younger Inuit question whether Christianity is the most appropriate belief system for them. Sandra Pikujak Katsak remembers that, for a time, she "didn't want to be a Christian because [she] wanted to get back at the *Qallunaat* for saying all those bad things about Inuit back then. … and telling [them] old Inuit spirits were evil. It's like they tricked [the Inuit] into Christianity."[34] For many Inuit today, their faith is bound up in their heritage, but that heritage is not inviolate to questioning.

Despite missionaries' attempts to impose a particular type of Christianity in Mittimatalik, the evidence demonstrates that all along, Inuit have decided which aspects of Christianity they wished to incorporate into their beliefs. Missionaries perceived the triumph of Christian doctrine in the Arctic as predetermined, but they expected a reproduction of Euro-Canadian Anglicanism. They were right in predicting their religion's predominance, but wrong in forecasting the shape it took. One visitor to Mittimatalik in the early 1990s suspected that Harold Duncan and John Turner probably would not have approved of some of the community's Christian practices, and she is likely right. However, in the end the choice was not theirs to determine. All along, the Inuit had decided which aspects of Christianity to adopt as their own, and they continue to demonstrate this syncretism in their beliefs even today.

[33] Debra Fieguth, "Arctic Revival," Faith Today, January/February 2002. 6 June 2006. <http://www.faithtoday.ca/article_viewer.asp?Article_ID=28>.
[34] Wachowich, Saqiyuq, 243.

Conclusion

> Not many years ago one of the chief difficulties confronting the author of a book on Indian-Christian encounter would have been to make sense to the average readers of the religious practices of the Indians and to explain the strange inability of some of them to recognize the superiority of Christianity. Today, at least among the student generation, it is the missionary who has become the puzzle.[1]

Although many scholars have attempted to solve Grant's puzzle in the last twenty-two years, there remains among some a tendency to simplify the missionary and to essentialize his project as everywhere universal and necessary. Missionary rhetoric, with its homogenizing and hegemonic spatial and temporal discourses, may well have informed this approach. But one cannot use missionary standards to assess their projects in the larger, complex cultures in which they were situated. Missionaries' actions often vied with those of other colonial agents; very often the latter's agenda took precedence. Additionally, missionary contact with other cultures often caused a clash of worldviews that did not always resolve in the missionaries' favour. Only through acknowledging the tensions that existed both personally and communally for the missionary can an accurate picture of any missionizing situation appear.

In Mittimatalik, these tensions initially caused the missionaries to erect barriers against outside forces. By contrast, the Inuit were more accustomed to dealing with multi-structural systems. Although initially they required missionary guidance in acclimatizing to the proliferation of new rules, they soon realized that not all the missionaries' rules were compatible with traditional Inuit culture. While the Inuit took up some Anglican practices, the missionaries were slower to lower their barriers, and as a result, the cultural and religious gap between the two groups remained wide in the mission's first five years.

I. The Anglican missionary: a complicated soul

Those who believe in the stereotypical missionary today inherit their notions from "representations in histories, popular culture, film, and literature, where missionary figures are generally divested of agency and capacity for self-reflection."[2] History has not always been kind to the Anglican Everymissionary. If one denies the individual

[1] Grant, Moon, 215.
[2] Johnston, Writings, 2.

missionary a personality and voice, one could conclude that all Anglican missionaries in the Canadian North were undereducated, unwilling to learn native languages, and unlikely to leave settled mission stations to travel on the land with their congregants.[3] By comparison, Duncan and Turner were both well-educated—Duncan highly so—both adamant about becoming fluent in Inuktitut, and both willing to travel, although for Duncan it proved too physically difficult.

Herein lies the danger in applying the worst, or even the mediocre, characteristics of the hypothetical "Anglican missionary" to all individual cases. Kenneth Coates contends that by understanding a missionary's personal motivations and social background, one can explain his effectiveness of his work.[4] In fact, this knowledge explains his entire worldview; and moreover, it sets him apart from his age's general discourses. Duncan and Turner were both born-again evangelicals who had baulked against the early twentieth century's increasingly secular tendencies.

Yet neither man adhered completely to all evangelical tenets, as has been demonstrated, and they disagreed on some crucial aspects of missionizing. These differences stem from their personal backgrounds. For example, Duncan's shielded and protected childhood may have made him less willing to brave the intercultural chasm and more willing to erect boundaries against unfamiliar behaviours. Turner, by contrast, had fearlessly explored the word from childhood onward. His self-sufficiency made him willing and eager to travel beyond the confines of evangelical space in the mission and Euro-Canadian space in the settlement. Their behavioural responses had been determined both by their specific childhoods and shared creeds. It was those responses that partly established their respective successes and failures in Mittimatalik.

II. The missionary and colonial arenas: complicated spaces

Even in the nineteenth century, when the narrative of civilization, Christianity, and commerce was at its imperial height, the task of missionization was fraught with considerably more tension than this formula for success suggests. More often, the experience was one of "fragmentation and reconstruction, of encounter and polemic, of participation in a complex world of conflicts and interconnections."[5] While this was

[3] Coates, "Rise a Peg," 12-13; Peake, "From the Arctic," 144-45.
[4] Coates, "Rise a Peg," 3-4.
[5] Ward, "Taking stock," 21.

certainly the case when secular and sacred agencies intersected, the missionary enterprise itself was not free of tension, either spatially, temporally, or culturally.

Many of these tensions have already been noted in Mittimatalik. In spatial terms, the missionaries often faced a disjunction between the world as they viewed it and the world as it actually was, if such an independent claim to reality can be made. At Mittimatalik, Turner and Duncan may have expected to find pagans. Instead, they encountered a literate and knowledgeable Christian population who became more than willing to challenge the missionaries' hegemonic worldview. Moreover, the Anglicans' desire to Christianize Mittimatalik properly, as part of the world's eventual evangelization, was tempered by the evangelical belief that each person had to accept their own sinfulness before God's work could begin. The missionaries' spatial power, both culturally and religiously, did not extend beyond the reach of their mission, and in many cases beyond the reach of their own bodies. Those who came to nightly worship were still "unsaved," in Duncan and Turner's view.

Temporal considerations caused similar tensions. The missionaries believed in the temporal domination of God, in that he had foreordained their success. Yet their divinely-sanctioned activities did not always produce the results—more specifically, the immediate results—for which they had hoped, and which, as premillenniarians, they needed. Duncan and Turner reconciled these doubts by reaffirming their faith in God's providential plan, in which all things would occur according to his divine schedule.

Finally, cultural factors came into play, many times in unacknowledged ways. Religiously, missionaries could only affirm commitment to the Christian worldview, and had to exclude the possibility of forms that threatened this certainty.[6] Theoretically, cultural accommodation was possible under this paradigm. Yet the evidence shows that at Mittimatalik, as elsewhere, the missionaries were unable to define the boundary between religious and cultural actions. The Comaroffs, speaking of Tswana conversion, note that "only partially distinguished from [religious conversion] in the evangelical enterprise was the effort … to inculcate in [the native world] the hegemonic signs and practices—the spatial, linguistic, ritual, and political forms—of European cultures."[7] As seen in the third chapter, some of Duncan's and Turner's cultural strictures caused the most problems for the Inuit. However, there is no evidence that the missionaries treated cultural rules with

[6] Craig, Lives, 105.
[7] Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution. Volume One: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 8.

any less import than religious ones, nor that they realized the interchangeability of the two categories.

These missionizing tensions were only amplified in the colonial space, which, contrary to previous belief, often saw disunity, not harmony, between its various agencies. Against the idea of the all-powerful, all-knowledgeable "panoptic imperial state" favoured particularly by Foucauldian theory, a more nuanced view of colonial society has emerged. Newer studies regard these regimes as "uneven, imperfect … knowledge-acquiring machines."[8] The experience of the Euro-Canadian agencies in Mittimatalik confirms this statement. A Native system of omission and transmission circumscribed what knowledge was available and circulated, particularly in the case of the missionaries. Moreover, Mittimatalik's Euro-Canadians lacked a "shared European mentality, the sentiments of a unified, conquering elite."[9] As the cold war between the missionaries and the Company men demonstrates, the Euro-Canadians were unable to operate collectively, although their goals sometimes overlapped.[10] These tensions in the missionizing work and the settlement combined proved too much for the missionaries, who retreated behind cultural barriers of their own making in the autumn of 1932.

III. Boundedness and boundlessness

While the missionaries sought refuge from these structural tensions and complications, the Inuit came to navigate these complexities with ease. Perhaps the traditional mental openness of hunter-gatherer societies played a role in their adaptation:

> By denying a reduction to a limited set of variables, the fullness of both culture and consciousness come to bear on each day's activities. The mobile and flexible behaviour of hunters is inseparable from this state of consciousness, this form of decision-making. … There is no room for committees, organizers or institutional formality.[11]

Tununermiut had enjoyed over a hundred years of practice in negotiation with Euro-Canadian agencies such as the whalers and traders. In time, they became more

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[8] Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 205.
[9] Ibid., 23.
[10] For example, all three agencies wanted the Inuit to stay away from the settlement as much as possible, yet the reasoning of each agency was different. The Hudson's Bay Company wanted them to trap constantly to yield the greatest amount of furs. The missionaries feared that settlement life would produce secularization and moral corruption in the Inuit. The police did not want welfare dependency or increased crime in the population, and so encouraged them to "make an honest living" out on the land. Matthiasson, Living, 24.
[11] Brody, Living Arctic, 93+.

comfortable with negotiating Euro-Canadian mental constructs, such as Christianity, and adapting them for their own uses. Given the rapid proliferation of agencies in the 1920s in Mittimatalik—the Hudson's Bay Company arrived in 1921, and the police a year later—it is understandable that the Inuit may have doubted their ability to negotiate as independently as they previously had. However, they quickly became adept at navigating the interstitial spaces between the Euro-Canadian agencies, including the missionaries, from whom they kept certain knowledge that they freely shared with other Euro-Canadians. As with previous systems, the Inuit selected particular Anglican Christian attributes that seemed to fit well with their traditional beliefs and began to enact them, both alongside the missionaries and in their own camps on the land.

This contrast between the missionaries' boundedness and the Inuit boundlessness structured their interactions during the mission's first five years. The onus was on the missionaries, as the outsiders to Inuit land and culture, to close the cultural gap.[12] This step was essential for success: "[C]ooperation based on fear was of little value and permanent acceptance was to be won only by negotiation and compromise."[13] Here the contrast between the two missionaries appears quite strongly. Duncan, whose life experiences had been bounded quite strongly, and whose physical limitations bound him further, was unable to reach more than a preliminary rapprochement with the Inuit. In any case, his health did not permit him to return to Mittimatalik after his 1934 furlough. Turner, who had grown up in a comparatively boundless manner, was better equipped to overcome the initial cultural shock and to meet the Inuit, literally, on their own ground.

Without this detailed background knowledge of the missionaries, gleaned through their personal writings, and of the Inuit, gleaned through the memories of Euro-Canadians and Inuit elders alike, one might turn in despair, as Trott has done, to the "arbitrariness of events" in explanation. Such an approach denies the individuality and agency of the men, women and children who interacted, fought, and came together in Mittimatalik. And while an understanding of social and cultural matters is important, religious matters cannot be excised from the analytical equation. These people "got hungry, they were often cold, and they were lonely and despondent or happy and capable of coping with their own lot in life because they had faith in a force beyond their own lives."[14] The Christianities of the missionaries and the Inuit, while often divisive, also fostered amity

[12] Larson, "Closing Space," 515.
[13] Porter, Religion versus empire?, 321.
[14] Kelcey, Alone, 176.

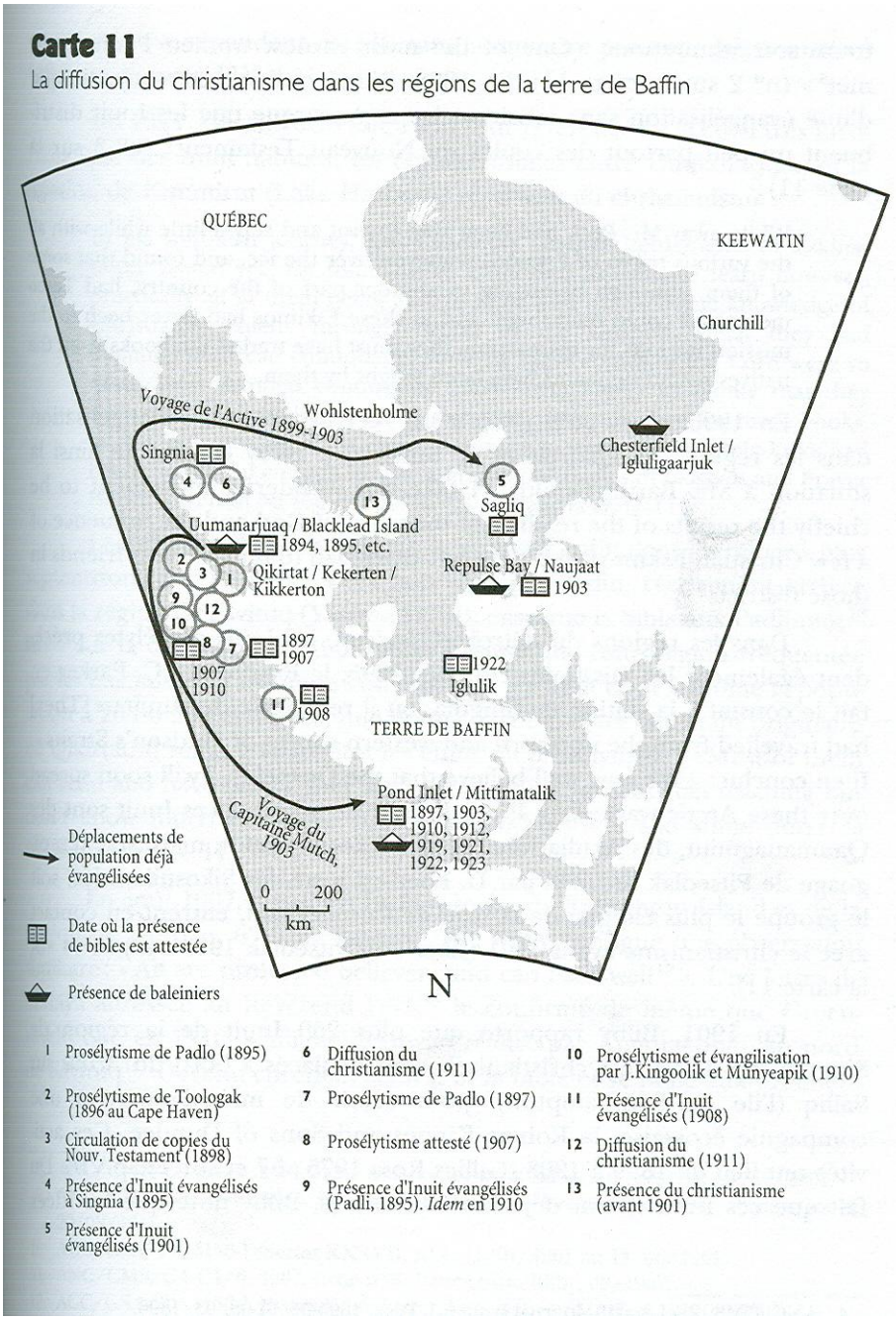
and joyfulness that was remembered fondly half a century later by Harold Duncan and still today by Inuit elders in Mittimatalik.

Appendix A

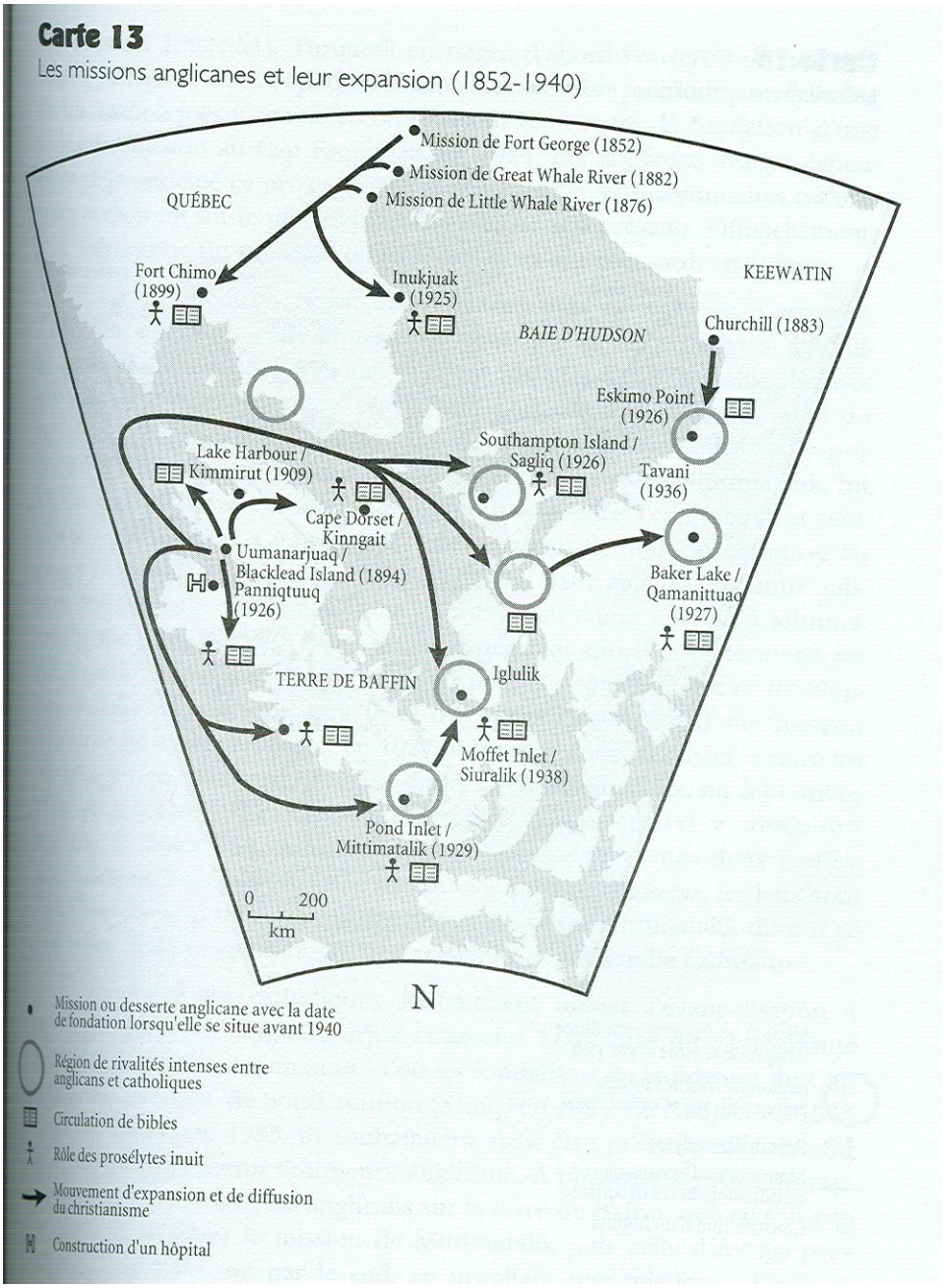
Maps

Map 1. Nunavut.

Map 2. "The diffusion of Christianity in the regions of Baffin Island."



Map 3. "Anglican missions and their expansion (1852-1940)."



Appendix B

Diagrams and Photographs of the Anglican Mission

**Diagram 1. The Anglican mission in 1928-29,
as sketched by Harold Duncan.**

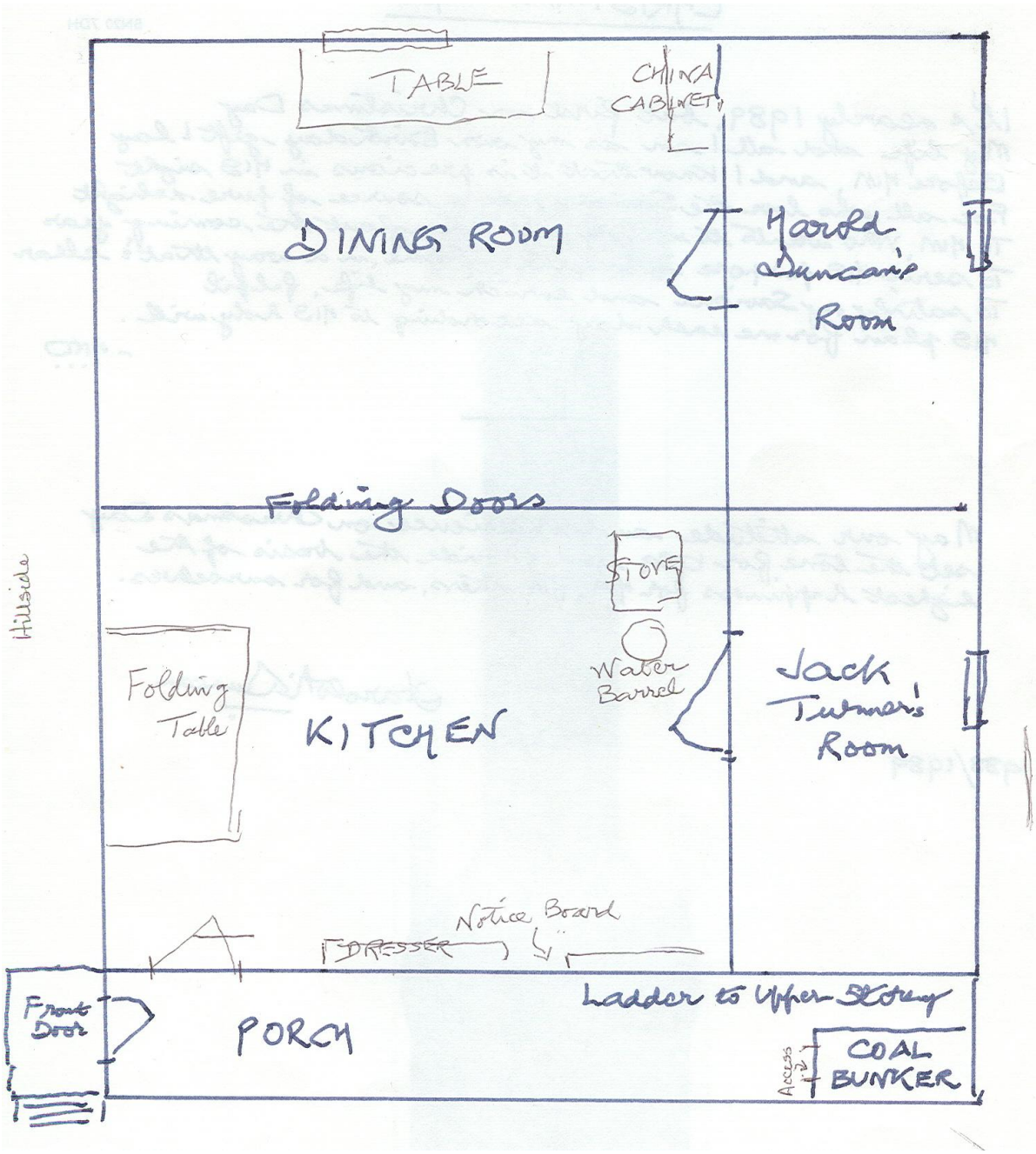


Diagram 2. The Anglican mission in 1934-35, ground floor, based on a sketch by John Turner.

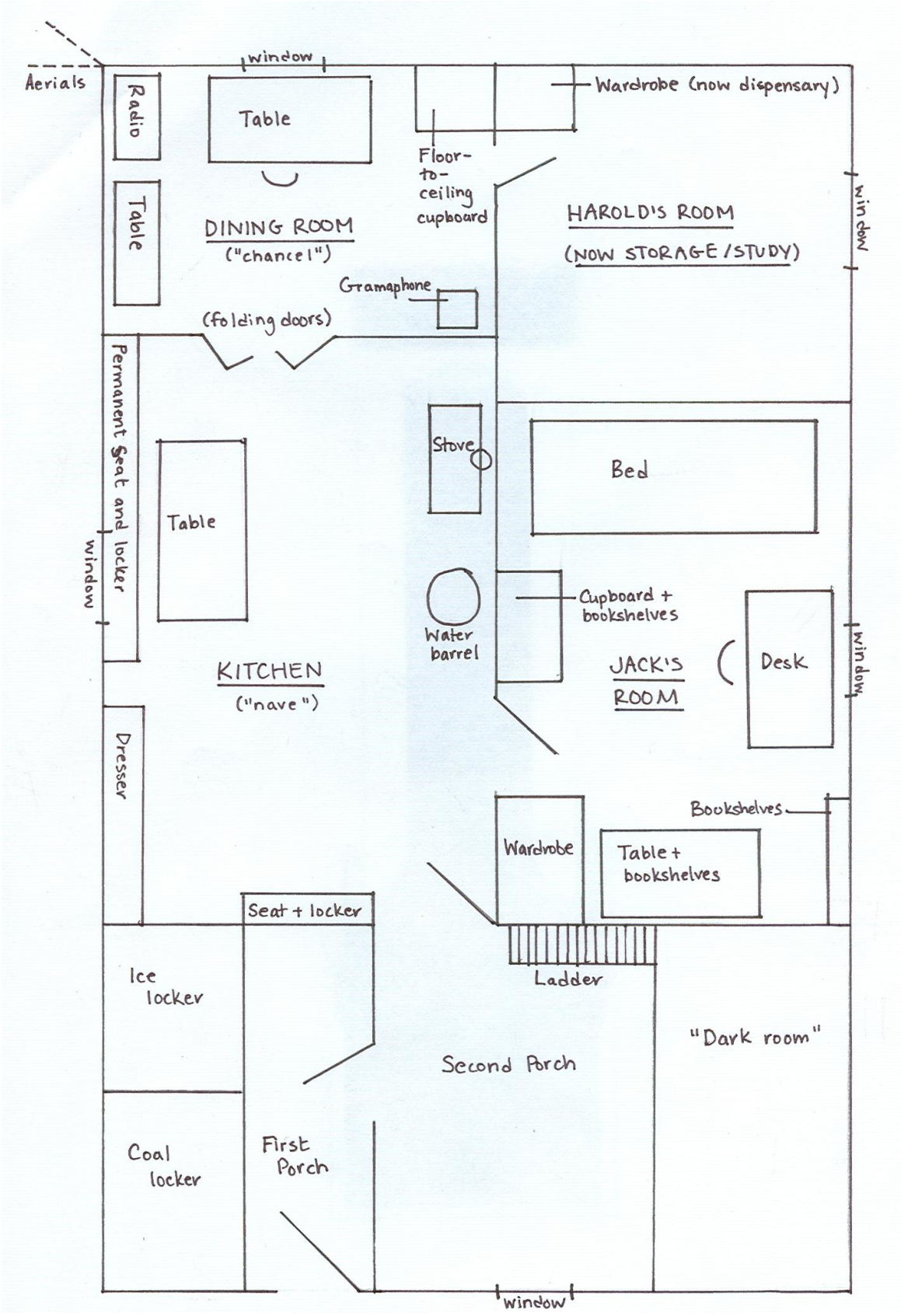
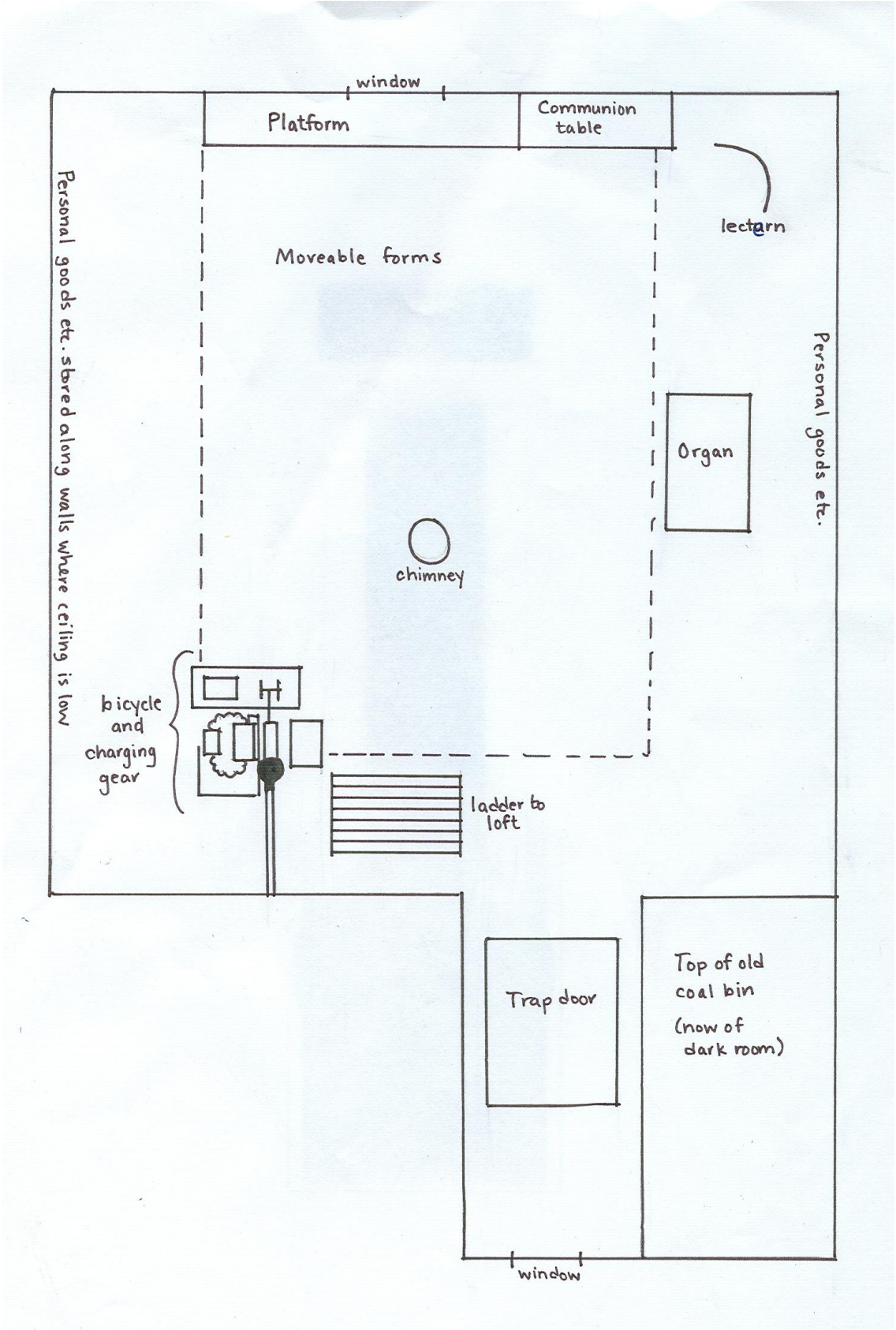


Diagram 3. The Anglican mission in 1934-35, upper floor, based on a sketch by John Turner.



Photograph 1. Interior of the Anglican mission, taken from the kitchen facing into the dining room. Jack Turner, c1930.

Photograph 2. Harold Duncan in homemade armchair in the dining room of Anglican mission. Prime Girard, c1933.

Appendix C

Photographs of Mittimatalik People and Places

Photograph 1. The Anglican mission with Mittimatalik in the background. Photographer unknown, late August 1930.

L-R: Harold Duncan, Jack Turner, David Sandy's mother or mother-in-law, Mary, one of David Sandy's children, and David Sandy.

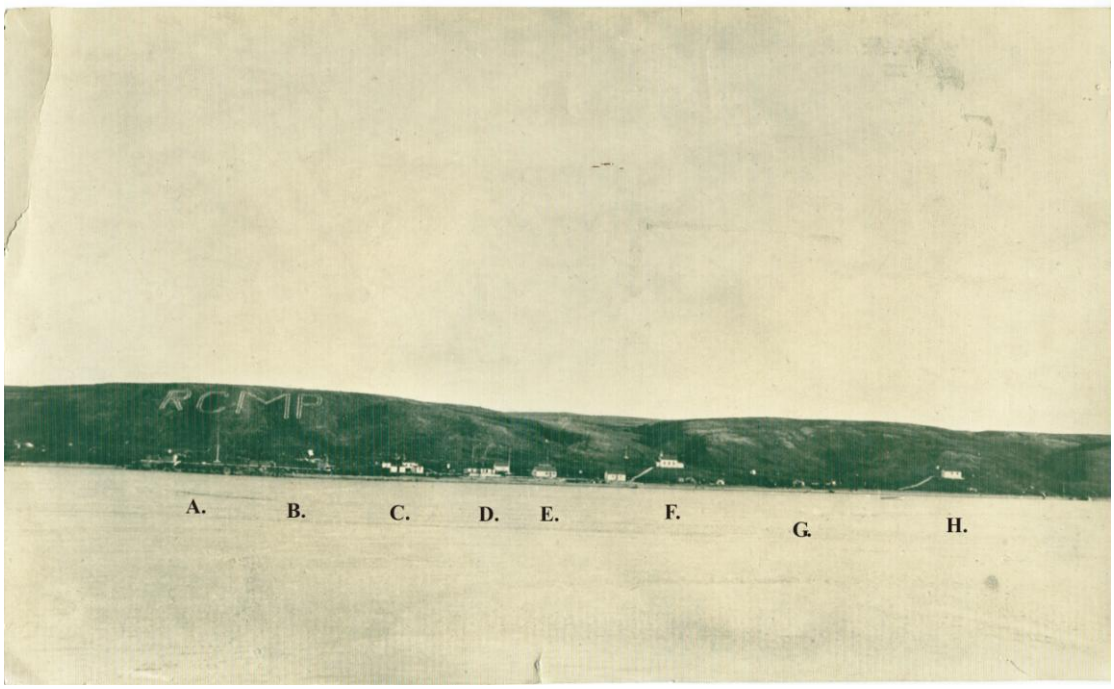
Photograph 2. Abraham Akumalik and Ungnowya. Jack Turner, c1930.

Photograph 3. Mittimatalik facing northeast. Jack Turner, c1934.
The Anglican mission is in the foreground. Below, the buildings to the left of the flag are those of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to the right of the RCMP.

Photograph 4. Stone-lined path from the Anglican Mission to the HBC with the *Nascopie* in the bay. Photographer unknown, c1929-34.

Photograph 5. Mittimatalik facing south. Jack Turner, 1931.

The buildings are as follows: A) The police natives' houses, B) The police barracks, C) The HBC residence, D) The HBC main store, E) The HBC subsidiary storage huts, F) The Catholic mission, G) Inuit houses, H) The Anglican mission.



Drawing 1. Cover of the Hudson's Bay Company Christmas Dinner Menu, 1930. Artist unknown.

Boxing dissolved the tensions of settlement life and enabled friendly conversation for days thereafter.

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